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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2111



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YOUTH, RETIREES VOLUNTEER FOR WORK IN MINES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by Shaban Sinani: "The Initiative of the Youth Cadres of Tirana Must Apply to Others Besides the Youth"]

[Text] In a discussion about the Tirana volunteers it is said that the 12 youth cadres who started work in Valias, hit the bulls-eye. The elders say that the youths revitalized us by repeating what they felt during the days of the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the Union of Working Youth. Everyone is being informed by the press and radio-television about the spread of the movement throughout the country, about the youths of Elbasan who did not consider the hardships and requested to work in the "Steel of the Party" combine, about the youths of Vlore, Durres, Shkoder and Diber, who in the interest of socialism worked in the agricultural and dairy sector, and who now are expecting from themselves something more: What can I do to respond with all my strength to the revolutionary situation which we are living through?

This militant responsibility has also been felt by quite a few communists and cadres who have gone to work where the party needs them, and the same responsibility was felt by the communist retiree Haxhi Isufi who wrote a few days ago to the party committee of Region No 2: "I have continually been interested, through the comrades of the mine, about the fulfillment of the tasks. I express my desire and that of all the retirees of the Valias mine to return to the mine."

Many communists, cadres and workers have met lately and have discussed and seen reflected in the example of the youths the daily involvement with the present tasks. They have decided to go anywhere where the motherland needs them.

What was the attitude of the basic party organizations of the sectors of Region No 2 of the capital? The initiative must apply to others in addition to the youth cadres, it was said. We can help too. In Sector No 9 there are youths who are still waiting for "choice," "comfortable" jobs. Together with the comrades of the mass organizations they organized an aktiv to which they invited also those who had refused until then to work in those fronts where they were needed. All should work where the motherland needs them, the meeting decided.

In the same spirit, the 10-month production period in the Educational Supply Industrial Enterprise was discussed and analyzed. Many youths of the enterprise have chosen the mining profession and others want to emulate the example of the initiators. But even those who would continue working in these sectors had to reexamine their tasks. Workers who in the past were criticized for unjustified work absences or poor quality of work have begun to be challenged by the inspiring example of the youths.

But this is not generally the case, despite the fact that the movement which burst forth has attracted the attention of all. In the vehicle repair shop or in the electro-machine plant in which the initiative was launched, the work of the basic party organization has been concentrated on expanding the movement to include the widest possible circle of youths. And there are successes. The ranks of those who are insisting on going to the mines, into construction work or agriculture, where there are greater hardships, keep increasing constantly. This aspect of the work of the basic party organization is truly constant, skilled and fruitful. We talked with the comrade managers of these organizations. It is apparent that they have well under control the question of the pursuit of the most revolutionary attitude possible regarding the initiative of the youths. But has their educational work been completed? The initiative is appreciated and valued, it is continually encouraged, but it must go beyond the level of the youth organization. Work is not being carried out everywhere to create the conviction that the most difficult fronts in production which need the strength and the thought of the youth, need also the hand and the mind of the more experienced communists and cadres. "We have not had one request from above to spread the movement among the communists"--says the assistant secretary of the party bureau of the UEM [electro-machine plant]. But when the revolutionary spirit of the initiative is so clear and inspiring, why must one wait for advice from above? Why did they not learn with regard to this question too from the youths who did not wait for orders from above?

We discussed this matter with some cadres of the basic party organizations of the regions no 1 and 2 of the capital. "We got the example from the youths. But we have not yet brought it up for discussion by the basic party organization. We will discuss it soon." At the Ministry of Industry and Mines we were told that the initiative was launched only recently, and therefore we have not dealt with it." In some other ministries, too, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture, the initiative has been seen with the eye of the spectator, at a time when a lot could have been learned from it. Let us mention only one fact: Following the discussion of the report "Llambi Simaku started work," published a few weeks earlier in ZERI I POPULLIT, all the participants in meetings held in ministries approved of the idea to going to the grassroots to work and direct production. The lists were drawn up, the places where dozens of cadres would start working were assigned. But so far there are still places, especially in the ministries of agriculture and industry and mines, in which all sorts of reasons are given for holding on to former posts. It is therefore necessary to take a more courageous approach toward the initiative and the progressive experience of many communists and cadres who have gone without hesitation where the motherland needs them. We can mention those from Tirana but also 35 high-level cadres in education, health and agriculture in Korce District (veteran workers), who, following the first call of the party, went immediately to the highland zones of the country to work for a long period, since their work was more urgently needed there.

Viewed from this angle, the going of the youth cadres to the grassroots must mark only the beginning of the initiative. It must be supported and accepted--and not only morally--by all, and in the first place, by the cadres and the communists.

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CSO: 2100/13

ALBANIA

FORTUNE-TELLING, RELIGIOUS PRACTICES NOT YET ERADICATED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 27 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Tomor Peza: "An Enemy Which Must not Be Forgotten"]

[Excerpts] In the Kryevih agricultural cooperative in Kavaje Region, nine children were circumcised recently. The directors of the mass organizations were amazed.

How could such a thing happen when we thought that these backward customs had disappeared? some said in astonishment.

However, such things can happen and it is important that we find out why they happen.

"The youth organizations and the pioneer organization are silent in regard to this matter...", material prepared by the youth organization says. This is only one finding and does not reveal the true cause. It must be sought, first of all, in the weakness of educational work with young men and young women, in the underestimation of the importance of the struggle against remnants of religion.

Lately, the offices of the Democratic Front in the districts and other mass organizations have received little information from the grassroots on the struggle being waged against religious remnants. In some cases, it is not mentioned at all because it is believed that religious remnants are no longer dangerous. Of course, under the leadership of the party, great successes have been achieved in the atheistic education of our people, especially, the younger generation. But the party teaches that the influence of religion does not disappear quickly because it is intertwined with the events, customs and ideas of Albanian society during different periods and it has been able to influence these events, these phenomena and the character of our people. Therefore, there is no cause for self-satisfaction or for underestimation of this dangerous enemy which has been put out the door; in some cases, when vigilance is reduced, it "comes in through the window".

It is unfortunate that these underestimating attitudes also appear in people who have had some education. The editorial staff has received some letters which give evidence of these phenomena. Two letters from the same farm in

Shkoder District are interesting. The first letter says: "Before the Liberation there were 20 churches and mosques in the Bajza e Kelmendit area and no one knew how to read and write." In speaking about the atheistic training of the younger generation he says that "religion is not observed any more...." But the other letter, written by the chairman of the Democratic Front organization, analyzes the situation correctly. Without being euphoric, he lists the successes achieved in this area, and he also states the difficulties arising in the struggle against remnants of religion. For example, in some families, children are given two names: one under which they are recorded in the registry of vital statistics, a modern name, and another, which they are called at home, a name of religious origin. In the village of Rapsh, a child under school age learned how to say prayers from the old woman of the house. Some old men or old women have become "specialists" in telling "fortunes" by looking at a cup of coffee, salt, a chicken bone, etc. If you believe in fate, then you believe in God a little bit, Stalin says.

Some people underestimate the situation by saying; "This is the work of the old folks." But, in fact, it is not the work of the old folks alone. For example, in Vlore railroad station and in other places, there have been cases where men or youths "have had their fortunes told" by some gypsies. Some of them leave happier but something is wrong in the mentality of these individuals. "My brigade did not do well this year; I was not lucky; there was no rain, only drought," a brigade member says in all seriousness. Why were you unlucky? And why was that other brigade, which did better than you and had almost the same conditions, "lucky?" Therefore, it is a case of work and not luck. There are some pupils, and even some students, who engage in and believe such nonsense during exam time, since they have not studied systematically during the school year. "I will wear a certain blouse because it is lucky for me." Therefore, one cannot say lightly that religion "has put down its weapons." By no means. Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "Several generations will pass and still, the party will have to combat the remnants of religion which will appear in various forms, in accordance with the development of our country, while taking outside influences into consideration.... Therefore, we have the duty to combat these remnants in an alert, intelligent and organized manner, never allowing them to be forgotten and never underestimating them."

CSO: 2100/24

POLAND

GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Bejger's Maritime Economy Speech

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Oct 82 p 3

Speech by Stanislaw Bejger: "Maritime Economy Should Become One of Our National Specialties: Speech by Stanislaw Bejger, Deputy Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee"

Text According to the resolution of the 9th PZPR Congress, problems of the sea and the maritime economy were considered for the first time during the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our party.

The 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee has, in examining the state and development prospects of the maritime economy and the assumptions of the Polish maritime policy, expressed our party's recognition of the great importance of maritime problems in the whole of the country's social-political and economic life.

The maritime economy had grown with special vigor during the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s. This served to increase our share in the international division of labor. We expanded our cooperation with many of the world's maritime countries, and especially the socialist countries. The shipbuilding industry grew chiefly owing to the placement of long-term orders for the building of ships in large series for the shipowners of the Soviet Union.

As our maritime economy became international in scope, many enterprises in our country were enabled to increase the production of goods and services for export in cooperation with the maritime economy.

The share of the maritime economy in the generation of national income amounts to 2.5 percent, and in Poland's exports it amounts to nearly 10 percent--this refers to exports of both goods and services.

These accomplishments are due to the training of highly qualified cadres of shipyard workers, seamen, fishermen and harbor personnel, capable of properly utilizing the facilities constructed.

The maritime economy is an integral part of the national economy. Its development is possible only in tandem with the development of the entire national economy, which in its turn can develop properly only if the maritime economy also develops harmoniously.

Yet in the near past this has not always been so. Fairly often, the maritime economy was regarded as an isolated sector of the national economy, and its individual subsectors were treated as isolated entities. This engendered disproportions and deprived the maritime economy of sufficiently effective functions as an instrument of the entire national economy and a motive factor in its growth. Owing to this practice, the coproduction industry for the shipbuilding industry, among other things, was not allowed to develop adequately. The quality of the servicing of general cargo was lowered by abandoning the program for modernizing the line fleet and stopping the expansion of harbor facilities for the transloading of general cargo as well as, especially, implementing only partially the government program for developing the container transport system.

At present the main problem in the maritime economy is the proper utilization of the available potential and all reserves as well as increasing the effectiveness of the maritime economy as not only a branch in itself but a factor combining discrete elements of the national economy and a vital stimulus in the growth of many important fields of the latter economy.

The maritime economy is a profitable branch of the national economy. Many of the advantages of the maritime economy are not directly evident, however, in the financial performance of its enterprises, but they do manifest themselves fully only in the economic advantages to enterprises located in the interior of the country as well as to the national economy as a whole.

Against the background of many problems presented in the materials of the current Plenum of the Central Committee, and especially in the interesting report on the status and development prospects of the maritime economy and the assumptions of the maritime policy of our state, I should like to draw attention to the following issues.

The maritime economy as a complex whole should become one of our national specializations.

To accomplish fully these goals, the currently applied systemic solutions within the framework of the economic reform should assure treatment of the export of services on par with the export of goods. Despite the unequivocal government decisions in this matter, the Ministry of Finance and other ministries continue to apply two different yardsticks. It can be stated that, inasmuch as exports of services are less materials-intensive, they should even be accorded a certain priority. But the regulations governing the equalization calculations relating to exports do not grant the privileges of a CHZ /Foreign Trade Agency/ director even to the minister of the maritime economy.

To assure the regular growth of transit services, it is also necessary to work out a coherent long-range transit policy that would obligate all the ministries and would not be altered at will. Our customers wish to be certain about our possibilities for providing them with services of this kind in the long-term outlook--and this concerns not only our fleet and harbors but also our rail transport.

Exports of services require offering not only competitive potential but also a marked flexibility in the functioning of our maritime economy, which must adapt itself to the existing competitive conditions on the world market. We already have had good financial-economic systems, especially in deep-sea fleet operation. But certain ministries, which are unfamiliar with the specific features of this branch of the economy, attempt to squeeze it by force within a unified framework to fit in with the reform of the entire national economy. I believe that the ministry of finance in particular should consider the good experience gained so far in the tried and tested systemic solutions applied to the maritime economy.

The proper application of the principles of the reform to the maritime economy offers it a great chance.

During the (prior public) consultation of the agenda of the current Central Committee Plenum a number of unsolved problems of the maritime economy has been identified. But the present-day possibilities for solving these problems have to be considered and priority should be given to the solution of the problems that are of fundamental importance to the entire national economy.

The problem number one in navigation, harbors and the entire Polish transport of general cargo is the container transport system. An interministerial government commission should be appointed for assessing the implementation of the provisions of the mandatory programs and government decisions and drafting a new program for the expansion of the KST (Container Transport System) by the year 1985 and in the longer run. This program must comprise the entire cycle of the "door-to-door" delivery of general cargo.

Another no less important topic is the need to decide on the further development of deep-sea fishery as an important component part of the food economy of this country. This concerns the definition of tasks for the modernization of the deep-sea fishing fleet and its adaptation to the possibilities of the accessible fishing areas, in the open sea and elsewhere. This also concerns the maximum utilization of fish catches for consumption purposes, chiefly through an expansion of the land-based fish-processing capacities and a more efficient distribution, considering that the management of fish catches so far has been evoking many reservations.

Another problem, of basic importance to the proper utilization of the production potential of shipyards and increase in their share in exports, is the need to resolve the problem of the handling of coproduction by more than 1,000 different plants serving as suppliers to the shipbuilding industry. This concerns assuring a sufficient level of output by these plants for the needs of the shipyards in order to radically reduce the so-called foreign-exchange input in the ships built. It is urgently necessary, in particular, to assure the continuity of on-schedule deliveries, in accordance with the contracts signed, of marine engines various kinds of gear and marine ropes and chandlery.

It is also urgently necessary to take steps to safeguard the supply of ships for the Polish fleet by Polish shipyards on the principles of self-financing;

now that there is a worldwide depression, instead of cheaply exporting on credit, it is better to build ships for domestic shipowners and thus also curtail the ship orders placed with foreign shipyards. Polish shipyards should become the principal supplier of ships for Polish shipowners. Similarly, Polish ship repair yards should give priority to repairs of the Polish fleet. A system should be set up for prompting these ship repair yards to assure adequate technical readiness and an appropriate state of conservation of Polish ships, as otherwise this expensive resource of the maritime economy would go to waste too rapidly.

A major problem which constitutes so to speak a barrier to the full utilization and further development of the maritime economy is the lopsided utilization of the areas of the coastal provinces and the neglects in environmental protection. This affects unfavorably the living standards of the Coast population and the utilization of the potential of the coastal region for the expansion of tourism. Altering this situation will require for many years increasing the outlays on the so-called non-production sphere, especially on the communal and housing economy. In addition, it will be necessary to accelerate the development of the smaller towns and especially villages, including the villages of the now completely rural Zulawy Region. This will facilitate a better supply of the large urban clusters.

A re-examination of the plans for the economic development of the northern macro-region is urgently needed. Urgent measures should be taken as well to curtail at once the pollution of the Baltic and especially of the Bay of Gdansk.

The priority given in the past to expanding the "production sphere" in the coastal region has prevented an adequate development of the social infrastructure. The underdevelopment of the socio-technical infrastructure in, e.g. the Gdansk Province has been influenced by the diminishing share of non-production investments in the total outlays on the province's development--a share that declined from 30 percent in the 1950s to 24 percent in the 1970s, although the extent of urbanization in this province is 18 percent higher than the nationwide average. Hence, the indicators of meeting the needs in the basic fields of the social infrastructure in this province are 2 to 36 percent lower than the nationwide average. This intensifies moods of frustration contributing to social tensions and conflicts. These phenomena have all the greater social resonance considering that the population of the coastal region is markedly differentiated, deriving from various other regions of the country. Many young people lack housing of their own. There is an absence of sufficiently developed traditions and models of behavior. Often there is also an absence of a feeling of stability among young people seasonally employed in coastal urban areas and, most importantly, a part of the work forces lacks multigenerational links with their labor establishments while at the same time being exposed to the lifestyle of the rich countries. In addition, the coastal population is markedly influenced by the hostile propaganda emanating from foreign centers and domestic anti-socialist forces as well as by shortcomings in our ideological-upbringing work. These reasons explain why a part of the work forces of certain enterprises on the Coast is susceptible to the manipulations of forces hostile to us. We draw appropriate conclusions from it and are taking appropriate measures.

The stabilization of the coastal population, its sinking deeper roots on the sea-shore and its greater internal integration as predicated on the proper utilization of the coastal conditions are not only social and economic but also and above all political problems. The party echelons and organizations, too, should consider in their work these specific local conditions and take more aggressive steps to overcome the existing neglects. It also is necessary to reassess the implementation of the 1975 resolution of the Central Committee Secretariat concerning work with the coastal population and define more precisely the current tasks.

I believe that the Commission for the Maritime Economy under the Central Committee, which is to be appointed, should examine in detail all the pertinent proposals made at the Central Committee Plenum and attend to securing the indispensable outlays for implementing these proposals in the appropriate plans.

It is good that the current Central Committee Plenum is not only taking a position with respect to the state and development prospects of the maritime economy as well as to the assumptions governing our state's maritime policy but also with respect to the principles of social and cultural policy as regards the coastal region.

We must make sure that the sea and problems relating to the sea exist in the consciousness of the Polish public as not only economic problems of the coastal regions or at most as problems of the ministry of the maritime economy. I believe that we must make sure that the sea and the maritime economy should in practice become a common cause to all Poles. To this end, comprehensive steps should be taken to expand the sea-mindedness of our society and augment its knowledge about the conditions of the "cultivation of the sea." Among other things, it is necessary to introduce on a broad scale, as has been demanded for years, instruction about the sea in schools and incorporate in university curriculums knowledge about the sea, particularly in teacher training curriculums.

Emotional contact between the public and the sea is important. This should be assisted by enhancing the influence of the sea on the development of national culture. To many creative artists the sea has already become an inspiration, but knowledge of the sea still is not adequately popularized in our country. A greater role in this respect should be played by television and the central socio-cultural weeklies. Soon, the weekly WYBRZEZE /The Coast/, which should be circulated nationwide, will begin to be published.

The sea should play a much greater role in the upbringing of youth through the development of marine tourism and sailboating.

I am convinced that the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee shall inspire various organizations and institutions, particularly those at the central level, to include sea-related problems in their activities.

## Gdansk Province Plenum

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 pp 1,3,4,5,6

/Unsigned article: "Let Us Utilize the Treasure-Trove of the 100 Years of Experience of the Polish Worker Movement: Solemn Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Gdansk"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source//

/Text/ /"The Polish proletariat totally divorces itself from the privileged classes and begins to struggle against them as an independent class that is completely different in its economic, political and moral strivings." With this utterance, which is a fragment of the program appeal of the "PROLETARIAT" Party, published in September 1882, the Polish worker movement commenced its struggle for the liberation of the oppressed classes and a new just social order. The appeal by the party of Ludwik Warynski and his fellow comrades was a proof of the Marxist nature of the first "Proletariat" and demonstrated the high level of consciousness of Polish workers who had appealed for a struggle in behalf of the rights of the working people earlier than did the proletariat of other more highly developed countries of Europe and the world./

/The century-old legacy of the struggle of the Polish proletariat for its rights and its own sovereign state, which culminated in the establishment of People's Poland, provides a permanent inspiration for the political and ideological activities of the PZPR, which is the continuator of the best traditions of the "Proletariat," the SDKPiL /Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania/, the KPP /Communist Party of Poland/ and the PPR /Polish Workers Party/. It is the moral obligation of Polish communists at present to creatively elaborate the foundations laid by their great predecessors, as well as to propagate the century-old history of the Polish worker movement./

Last Friday, 29 /November 1982/, the plenary meeting of the Gdansk Province party echelon was held in the auditorium of the Wybrzeze Theatre in Gdansk. The deliberations were chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, Candidate Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee.

The guests at the Plenum included many veterans of the worker movement, former members of the KPP and the PPR, representatives of the LWP /Polish People's Army/,

representatives of the scientific community, and historians and activists of basic party organizations. Those present included: Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Naval Commander-in-Chief; and Ludwik Janczyszyn, Admiral, member of the WRON [Military Council for National Salvation]. The meeting was devoted /to problems of propagating the traditions and contributions of the Polish worker movement on the occasion of its centenary./

In his opening address comrade Stanislaw Bejger stressed that the centenary of the establishment of the first Marxist party of the proletariat in Polish lands as well as the historical contributions made by the Polish left should provide a permanent inspiration for the political, ideological and educational work of the PZPR.

Reports for discussion were presented by: Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, who devoted his speech to the traditions of the Polish worker movement, and Henryk Sliwowski, chairman of the Commission for the History of the Worker Movement under the party Province Committee, who discussed the history of the worker movement in the Gdansk Province during the years 1945-1948.

A solemn and special aspect of yesterday's deliberations was the awarding of medals in honor of the centenary of the Polish worker movement and certificates of commendation to 34 longtime veteran party activists. The medals and certificates were conferred by Stanislaw Bejger and Marian Orzechowski

Following the presentation of reports, there was discussion in which eight comrades took the floor: Adolf Rudnicki, Wladzimierz Lebiedzinski, Antoni Kolodziej, Maria Michalak, Miroslawa Sinicka, Adolf Wloch and Feliks Kozak./as published/

Toward the end of the discussion Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary, took the floor.

In behalf of the Resolutions Commission, a draft of the resolution of the Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee concerning the directions of disseminating the traditions and contributions of the Polish worker movement was presented by comrade Jerzy Wludzik. The resolution was accepted unanimously. It contains as an integral part a program of measures relating to the popularization of the 100 years of experience of the worker movement in Polish land.

The Plenum ended with the singing of "The International."

[PHOTO not reproduced]

Slogan shown in photo: "100 Years of Struggle of the Polish Worker Movement for Independence, Democracy and Socialism."

#### Stanislaw Bejger's Plenum Remarks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 p 3

/Partial Text of Speech: "Reaching to the Sources: Opening Address by Stanislaw Bejger, Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee"/

Excerpt / Esteemed comrades!

I greet you cordially at this regular plenary meeting of the PZPR Province Committee. Today's Plenum is a signal event in our province party organization. We shall discuss aspects and problems relating to the celebration of the centenary of the Polish worker movement, that is, problems relating to what should inspire us and strengthen our ideological, educational and political work.

Attempts were and unfortunately still are made--as clearly evidenced in the demagogic publicistics of the former Solidarity--to argue that the worker and communist movement has no roots in Polish soil, that the ideas of this movement are alien to Polish culture and Polish traditions.

This is a fundamentally false thesis. Its fallacy is demonstrated precisely by the accomplishments of the Polish worker movement, by the achievements of independent and sovereign People's Poland.

On the other hand there is also the self-evident truth that the socialist patriotism of the Polish worker movement shall always mesh with internationalism. We shall always stay true to the slogan "For Our Freedom and Yours," and we shall always cooperate with our ideological allies. The clarification of these truths and relationships is an important task for all elements of our party, for all members of the PZPR.

We should consider yet another aspect of the Polish worker movement, that is, what is usually termed the regionality of the phenomenon. In this respect we still display certain shortcomings and omissions. And yet worker movement did exist and develop in our region. It has inscribed a glorious page in the annals of the growth of Gdynia and the young population of that city. The situation of the Polish worker movement in Gdansk and throughout the area of the former Free City requires expanded research.

It is also necessary to analyze fully the activities of the worker movement and its party in the immediate postwar period on the area of our province. Facts and events dating from those difficult years of the struggle to consolidate the people's rule are of permanent historical and social value. They can--and undoubtedly do--represent a rich source which we should utilize in our ideological-upbringing and organizational work.

It is also necessary to reveal the entire process of change and growth in the worker movement on the Coast, resulting in the ideological and program rapprochement of two parties--the Polish Worker Party and the Polish Socialist Party and consequently also in the formation of the PZPR. This process should be seen and shown in the context of the contemporary socio-political situation. In addition, the toil of the working people, of the working class, spent on reconstructing the entire region, developing new areas, and expanding the maritime economy and the national economy as a whole, should be popularized among our coastal population.

We hope that the scientific community of the Tri-City [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] and the veterans of the worker movement shall, with the assistance of the province party echelon, work on these problems and familiarize the coastal population with the situation in that earlier period and with the conclusions ensuing therefrom.

Comrades!

The centenary jubilee of the Polish worker movement imposes on all party organizations and echelons concrete tasks, chiefly as regards the sphere of propaganda and ideology.

The implementation of these tasks should be assisted by popular-scientific sessions and conferences as well as meetings of honored activists of the worker movement with representatives of all the social milieux, as organized by party echelons. Party organizations should discuss problems of the worker movement and its traditions and contributions at training sessions. Recent party members should be familiarized with these problems, which should also be included in the training of candidate members.

Comrades, at today's Plenum you have received materials for discussion in which we present our proposals as to the directions of the dissemination of knowledge about the history of the Polish worker movement and our program of action in this respect.

We expect a great display of initiative from, primarily, socialist youth associations and the party organizations active in educational institutions.

Assistance in implementing these activities will be provided by the Province committee, and especially by its Commission on the History of the Worker Movement, which we appointed precisely for this purpose at our plenary meeting on 16 June 1982.

It is our desire that today's Plenum would signally contribute to intensifying our work in this field. Today we have the occasion for a broad exchange of views on these topics, particularly considering that those taking part in the deliberations include:

- honored activists of the worker movement;
- representatives of the Polish People's Army;
- representatives of science, historians;
- members of the Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the Province Committee.

Comrades, in behalf of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, I wish to thank you cordially for accepting our invitation and at the same time request your active participation in our deliberations.

I wish also in your behalf to greet comrade Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who has arrived to attend our meeting.

#### Edward Kijek's Plenum Speech

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 pp 3,4

Partial text of speech by Edward Kijek: "Traditions and Achievements of the Polish Worker Movement: Speech by Edward Kijek, Province Committee Secretary" under the rubric "Solemn Plenary Session of the PZPR Province Committee in Gdansk"

[Excerpt] One hundred years ago the first revolutionary party of the working class, the Social-Revolutionary "Proletariat" Party, was established in Polish lands. Thus the Polish working class began to inscribe its contribution to the political history of the nation and formulate its own original solutions to the difficult problems of national existence. The successive stages of the struggle for social and national liberation, for independence, socialism and peace and for the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people were represented by Proletariat I and II, the PPS, the SDKPiL, the KPP, the PPR and, since 1948, the PZPR--that inheritor of the entire past and legacy of the Polish worker movement.

/The merger of the PPR and the PPS [Polish Worker Party and Polish Socialist Party] was a victory of both parties of the entire Polish working class which, following more than 50 years of organizational and ideological schism, organized itself in a single party--the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. The rise of the PZPR consolidated the position of the working class in the state and society, and the party itself spearheaded the further tremendous transformations in every field of the life of our nation./

#### Marian Orzechowski's Plenum Speech

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 p 5

/Text of speech by Marian Orzechowski: "The Centenary of Toil and Struggle: Speech by Marian Orzechowski, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee" under the rubric "Solemn Plenary Session of PZPR Province Committee in Gdansk"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source

[Text] Comrades!

The centenary of the Polish worker movement is a fact of the present day. It influenced and still influences our present era--all that our party and our society live on today.

This centenary influences primarily the struggle to implement the line of the 9th Congress of our party, the struggle against the forces of the opposition, the struggle for socialist Poland and its place in Europe. Lastly, it influences /the process of the renewal and rebirth of our own party--the Polish United Workers Party, the struggle for making it, in accordance with the behest of the 9th Congress, in reality--rather than in declarations and ceremonial speeches--/a Marxist-Leninist party, a workers' party, a vanguard and militant party/. It may be that in these moments--or rather years--so difficult to us we realize keenly how our past is linked to the present.

It is precisely the present that determines our perception of our own /party/ history and suggests to us questions which we seek to answer by considering the past of the movement. They are questions of tremendous ideological-moral and political significance. We are asking these questions at such a difficult time precisely in order to become better and more clearly aware of /our origins, the goals and directions of our struggle, the manner in which we should stride forward so as to accomplish our aim most rapidly and without excessive losses and distortions/.

The questions we are asking of ourselves on the occasion of the centenary of the worker movement are many and each of us--party members by choice and not by the fact of possessing party identity cards--can ask himself many questions. These questions concern the sense of our ideas and goals; a sense which always gets undermined whenever the implementation of goals does not produce the expected results and does not fulfill all the hopes placed in them by men, all the expectations, class interests and class aspirations.

The difficult situation of our party, nation and state impels us to ponder the sense and power of our goals, considering that for a hundred years every generation of the worker movement has been reverting to these goals--despite the failures and defeats--and continually implementing them.

We also ask ourselves another question: the question of the conditions and ways of an effective implementation of the goals of our movement, which in its turn triggers an avalanche of questions concerning the relations between the party and the working class, between the universal laws of the creation of socialism and the unique national conditions for translating these laws into reality.

Questions concerning the role of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party as the center focusing and concentrating all the pro-socialist forces, all those who have today--as 100 years ago--linked their own destinies to socialism. They also are questions concerning the causes of our failures in implementing the ideas of socialism, the causes of the deviation from the original meaning and nature of our ideas. They are questions concerning the need, the sense, the conditions for a genuine--rather than declarative--/return to the sources, return to the roots/.

This return to the roots signifies /a return to the ideas of our great predecessor --the Polish Workers Party/, the victorious party, the party of the struggle for a socialist and independent Poland. There also are questions concerning the shape of the leading and guiding party which /is to serve the working class and perceives in its service to that class its moral and political legitimacy for being the guiding force/.

Finally, they are questions regarding the identity of the participants in our movement--party members, activists, leaders of this movement, the identity of the citizens of the socialist state, fighters for the cause of socialism, communists.

I believe that you will agree with me, comrades, that we cannot afford to turn the veterans of our movement, members of parties-predecessors of the PZPR, among us today in this auditorium into mere living monuments before whom

we offer proofs of our acknowledgments on days as solemn as today. The question arises: /how can their experience be added to the circulatory system of the party's life? What is to be done in order to make the nature and sense of their lives become an element of our own life as well, an element of the party upbringing of young party members? What should be done in order to make all that the comrade veterans have lived through and experienced a part of our collective memory as well?/

It seems to me that finding answers to these questions is the task and duty of not only party historians but also our entire party.

On the centenary of our movement we especially return to one important question, which I already formulated: /what are our origins, our roots?/ This is not merely a matter of ordinary human curiosity such that everyone wants to know about his own genealogy, origins and predecessors, the collective portrait of our ancestors. Unless we can answer the question of our origins, we cannot answer meaningfully the still more essential question of where are we going, what are we fighting for and why precisely are we striding toward socialism rather than in the opposite direction? Why not in the direction toward which the anti-socialist opposition would like to nudge us--in the direction of another Japan as had been desired by Walesa, a self-governing Commonwealth, as desired by Kuron and Michnik, or Pilsudski's Poland as desired by Rulewski?

The answer to this question is also so important to us because it /was and is being falsified by our political adversaries/. An expression of this falsification is the thesis, already advanced for years, of a tank-borne revolution, of rule imposed under duress, of the alien nature of Marxism-Leninism to the Polish nation and land, of the plant transplanted from alien soil. This is besides nothing new--this is an old song well known to us. One hundred years ago it had already been sung by the ideological and political proponents of the Polish bourgeoisie at a time when Warynski and his young comrades commenced establishing on Polish soil an organized socialist movement under the banner of scientific socialism-Marxism.

Our old comrades who had belonged to the ranks of the KPP or the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth] remember that during the interwar period this song had been sung by those who spoke of the "Judeo-Commune," "agents of Moscow" or "agents of the Comintern," and that during the last war it was sung by members of all sorts of anti-communist groups acting against the so-called "Soviet parachutists," while after the war it was also sung by those who, during the 1946 Referendum--and subsequently also during the elections to the Legislative Diet in 1947--defined the PPR as the "Polish Soviet Party" [play on words--"Polska partia radziecka"--the acronym for PPR (Polska Partia Robotnicza--Polish Workers Party and the cooperating PPS as the "Polish Soviet Party /also play on words--"Polska partia sowiecka--Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)/].

To this old song, dusted off repeatedly for 100 years, we answer unequivocally: /the genealogy of the Polish United Workers Party has a long history--our roots reach deep--to all that by which lived and for which struggled the working masses of the Polish nation which have always been the basis and the salt of our nation./

Our lineage reaches far back to the traditions of centuries-long struggle for social progress, for a Polish culture, for a share in the legacy of progress and democracy in Europe and throughout the world. /The class, revolutionary worker movement in Poland grew out of a national soil, out of the demands of the working masses, against economic exploitation and political and intellectual oppression./ It derives from the radical currents that had existed prior to the rise of the working class, from the socialist, utopian thought of the Polish People's Community following the failure of the November /1832/ Uprising, from the agrarian socialism of Dembowski and Sciegienny, from gmina socialism, from the ideological thought and accomplishments of the group of activists consisting of Tokarzewicz, Bulewski, Bosak-Hauke and others, centered around the journal GMINA following the year 1863.

That utopian pre-Marxist socialism developing on Polish soil had contained great ideas--the ideas of the liberation of the people by the people, of public ownership of means of production, of the economic and mental liberation of the masses of the people, of the solidarity of nations as expressed in the glorious slogan "For Our Freedom and Yours," and the idea of the reciprocal relationship between the Polish revolution and the European revolution. Polish utopian socialism created the vision of a better world free of oppression and exploitation, a world in which the individual develops in society through society and for society.

That was a vision which stoked the immemorial dreams of mankind--dreams of justice, progress, equality and democracy. But it acquired concrete shape only after a /working class/ arose on Polish soil. /It was precisely in that vision that socialism found its principal material force which translated idea and utopia into social reality./ These ideas, in their Marxist form, began to reach the working class and shaped the consciousness and attitudes of that class.

The working class found precisely in Marxism its spiritual weapon and the direction of its struggle. Ideas of Marxist scientific socialism reached Poland from various directions--from the West and from the East. In the West--in Brussels, Geneva and London--Poles had encountered these ideas for the first time. Prior to the establishment of the first Proletariat [Party] these ideas had been proclaimed by the journals ROWNOSC, PRZEDSWIT and others. Poles also became familiar with them in the East--at universities in Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev. These Poles had included Warynski and his friends. They were linked to two then existing revolutionary undercurrents of the Russian movement--the "Narodniki" [Populists] and the socialist-Marxist undercurrent.

In addition to their contacts with the "Narodniki," Warynski and his comrades were linked to persons who had--a year after the formation of the Marxist party in Poland--formed a group named "Liberation of Labor" under the leadership of G. Plekhanov. That was the first Marxist socialist organization to be established in Russian lands. It was precisely with the future activists of that organization that the future founders of the first Marxist party in Polish lands had been meeting.

It is also worth noting that it was precisely in the 1860s, in Petersburg, Kiev and Moscow, that the /strategic rather than tactical concept of a permanent alliance of the Polish and Russian revolution, of Polish and Russian revolutionaries/ had been conceived. This is the great value of the Polish worker movement. Three great ideas lay at the cradle of that movement, 100 years ago and even earlier.

'The first is the idea of patriotism,/ which is reflected already in the first program documents of Polish socialists, called the Warsaw or, too, Brussels Document of the year 1878. It contains the statement that /every Pole who prefers the fate of millions of working people to that of a handful of capitalists and land-owners should fight under the banners of socialism/. The idea of patriotism, of the greatness, rebirth and development of Poland through socialism, henceforth has accompanied the class movement of Polish workers throughout all its historical destinies.

/The second idea is that of a creative exploration of ways of linking Marxism--and subsequently Leninism--to our national experience and current realities./ The discussion of the creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism had already been undertaken by the first Polish socialists when considering whether the principles of Marxism could be applied identically to all three partitions of Poland.

/The third idea is that of internationalism--a property of the Polish movement throughout the 100 years./ It concerns an internationalism which, in view of our particular and unique situation as a nation in the previous century has a large number of dimensions: the international solidarity of the proletariat as expressed in the slogan "Proletaries of All Countries, Unite," and cooperation with revolutionary movement in the countries of the partitioning powers, primarily in Russia. This cooperation concerned the oppressing nations--the Russian and the German--as well as the national minorities on Polish lands. The Polish worker movement has not only embodied internationalism in its own activities but also always was a unique proving ground for the formation of attitudes of internationalist consciousness in the struggle against nationalism, chauvinism and national megalomania as well.

That movement has, from the very moment of its inception, been increasingly influencing the whole of the nation's life and all the national regions--economy, politics, and the class structures, aspirations and strivings of discrete classes and strata. The idea of Marxist socialism, the socialist thought, has been exerting an overwhelming--though not yet conclusively investigated--influence on the mental life and culture of the nation.

/In the interwar period, socialist ideas became not just a part of national culture but something more--a sane impulse, a roadsign pointing to the road for the renewal of national culture at a time when the bourgeoisie and the governments representing its interests had driven that culture into a cul-de-sac./

It was precisely during the interwar period, within the circle and under the influence of Marxism, that permanent cultural values had been created. Worth noting also are the literary works created in the course of polemics against Marxism-Leninism, such as Stefan Zeromski's "Przedwiosnie" [Early Spring]. The study of this aspect as well of the history of the Polish worker movement remains /an important and urgent task to our Marxists/.

I agree with the comments made here that /the worker movement is not just a political movement but also a mass occupational, women's, youth, cooperative or sports movement./ The worker movement comprises all the manifestations of the

life of the party and the working class as a whole. Within the world created by the worker movement the worker felt like a man, a human being, and it was the locale of the process--mentioned by comrade Lebiedzinski--/of the transformation of the proletariat from a class by itself into a class for itself/, that is, /into a class conscious of the distinctness of its own interests, conscious of its historical mission which consists in demolishing the old world and building a new world/.

/We all members and activists of the PZPR represent another link in this great relay race of generations./ The first link in this race were those who had initiated the often elemental struggle for socialism, and those who had been the first in Polish land to scatter the seed of the idea of scientific socialism.

This is not merely a statement of the fact that we are only another generation in that great relay race. This also contains the moral and political obligation that /we cannot forget the greatness of the aspects of the century-long period of our history, the creative and lasting aspects serving the idea of socialism and the working class. But we should not forget either the aspects accounting for our failures which represent to us today an instructive though bitter historical lesson/.

The statement of the fact that we represent a successive generation, a successive link in teh relay race of generations imposes on us /the duty of defending our heritage against those who wish to belittle it or erase it from the nation's memory/ as we had recently witnessed. Nothing that is permanent and great in the century-long history of our movement can remain only in books, archives and museums.

Here I should like to paraphrase an idea expressed by Lenin early in the 20th century and state that we members of the PZPR cannot be archives-keepers guarding our legacy against unauthorized eyes and ears. /It is our moral obligation toward our predecessors to enrich and perpetuate this legacy./ It should be made widely accessible to the public and especially to the rising generations so as to transform it into a wellspring of new experiences and cause it to prompt Poles to think and act for the good of socialist Poland.

Such, in my opinion, is the meaning of the celebration of the centenary of the Polish worker movement. This is not a matter of noting yet another anniversary in round numbers; this is a matter of /a deepened reflection on ways and means of translating into reality better and more effectively an idea in whose name Ludwik Warynski and his comrades had commenced their great activities on Polish land 100 years ago/

#### Remarks of Plenum Attendees

Gdansk CLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 p 6

Unsigned article: "Disseminate the Experience of the Generations: Solemn Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Province Committee in Gdansk"

Text /The discussion at the plenary meeting focused on determining the directions and methods of disseminating the

century-long tradition and rich heritage of the Polish worker movement. The speakers stressed the need for a broader than previously and more multi-faceted popularization of the contributions of the proletarian parties to both theory and, on a large scale, the development of national culture./

/Also postulated was the need to benefit from the personal experiences of the veterans of the working movements, whose destinies were permanently linked to the development of the Gdansk Coast in the past 37-year period./

/The discussants unanimously acknowledged that propagating the content and tradition of the Polish worker movement among the rising generation, which has so painfully experienced the lack of models of conduct and ideological confusion, is an unusually important issue, particularly in the current political situation./

The first to take the floor in the discussion was comrade Adolf Rudnicki, who shared his personal experiences in political work during the first few years following the liberation of Gdansk from the Hitlerite occupation.

The speaker recalled that the first few operational teams dispatched to Gdansk in the spring of 1945 included the group of activists under the direction of comrade Janina Kowalska who, despite unusually difficult conditions, successfully organized political and social life in the Gdansk Province. As early as in June 1945 the PPR Province Committee was established in Gdansk, and the number of local party members in August 1945 had been 2,260. The first few months of the return of Gdansk to the Motherland were marked by an acute political struggle during which the activists of the combined front of the democratic parties, and particularly members of the PPR and the PPS, spared no effort to build the framework of socialist statehood.

Comrade Rudnicki described the commitment and devotion of the contemporary party activists to the then social situation in the country, stressing that the attitude of worker-movement activists ever since the first few days after the liberation of Gdansk provides a model for party members in the current difficult political situation.

The theory of the working class, construed as a social value, and its place in the Marxist system of values were the subject of the speech by Docent Włodzimierz Lebiedzinski. Speaking of the creative function of the proletariat, he stressed the importance of the shaping of new spiritual and moral values by the proletariat with the support of and upon utilizing the Marxist instrument of theory for its comprehensive activities. During the period of capitalism, too, the influence of the proletariat on the sphere of politics, culture and science had been perpetuated. Hence, the bourgeoisie had to acknowledge and consider that new class quality and sensed its power and historical value. The progress of

proletarian thought was also reflected in its early penetration by slogans and tendencies of internationalism, and in the importance it attached to these slogans and tendencies.

The working class had created early on new moral values--equality and social justice, and formulated the idea of social liberation through the social revolution. These values have not lost their importance to this very day, as eminently proved by the continually appearing or already existing liberation movements in many countries of the present-day world.

Antoni Kolodziej, a trade-union activist and a writer on topics connected with the sea, who also is a retired officer of the Polish Merchant Marine [PMH], devoted his speech to the traditions of the worker movement in the prewar Gdynia and the formation of Marxist consciousness among ship crews.

Comrade Kolodziej reminisced about his trade-union and party activities during the 1930s and World War II and criticized the well-known thesis of the opponents of socialism according to which Marxism-Leninism is an ideology alien to the Polish nation and the socialist system of society is supposedly not a result of a conscious choice by the Polish society but merely a political importation.

The speaker recalled how a large group of Polish seamen belonging to the Polish Council for Democratic Unity in England had deliberately decided to return to this country after World War II and a tremendous majority of the ship crews in the West adopted as its own the planks of the program declaration of the PPR announced in 1943. The tens of thousands of people who had returned to the country from compulsory emigration in order to resurrect from ashes a sovereign and just Poland represent the best proof of the acceptance of the line of the PKWN [postwar Polish Committee of National Liberation] by the entire nation and negate -- just as does the entire 100 years long history of the Polish worker movement -- the currently propagated and totally false thesis of the alien origin of socialism.

Early in her speech, Maria Michalakowa declared: "It is good that, in connection with the centenary of the Polish worker movement, calls are being made for a return to its roots, to the experience and knowledge of many older worker activists." She pointed out that it was precisely these individuals rich in experience, communists, who can effectively help in upbringing the youth. The former activists of the worker movement now face new tasks--the tasks of rebuilding the party and its authority and winning the youth over. The speaker shared her reflections on the operation of the commissions of activists under the PZPR City Committee in Sopot, which has already initiated a series of meetings with school youth for the purpose of reminding it of the history of the Polish worker movement.

Maria Michalakowa declared: "We all communist activists are living history, living monuments of history. Teachers and educators should be helped in their extremely difficult work. Today the most important task facing veteran communists and veteran members of leftist Polish political parties is the development of a moral and patriotic model of behavior, the readiness to devote all energies wherever it is most difficult to penetrate with the ideals of socialism."

Comrade Miroslawa Sinicka, director of the Center for Ideological Work under the Gdynia City PZPR Committee, devoted her speech to the need to disseminate the knowledge of the history and contributions of the Polish left. She criticized the schematism and academic nature of the teaching of history and stressed the absence of understandable and interesting publications rich in content. She recalled that ever since the 6th Congress work has been under way on the history of the worker movement but so far it has not been published for distribution to the bookstores.

Comrade Sinicka described the experience of the Gdynia city party echelon in popularizing the 100 years of contributions of the Polish worker movement, stating that the deficiencies of the studies of general problems should be offset by regional studies of chapters of the working movement, the knowledge of which at present is relatively small, especially among the youth. She also postulated that the history of the worker movement should be treated not as the history of the party or the authorities but in many dimensions as the history of the working class and of its participation in all spheres of economic, political and public life.

Comrade Sinicka declared: "Familiarity with the history of the Polish proletariat requires not only knowledge about party organizations but also knowledge about worker cooperatives, worker self-government, proletarian culture, the Red Scouting Movement, etc."

Adolf Wloch expressed the hope that the deliberations of the Province Committee Plenum will be the beginning of a realistic and consistent plan for recalling the history of the worker movement. The speaker pointed out that many publications and comments identify too one-sidedly the history of the party with the history of the Polish worker movement which is a multi-faceted phenomenon encompassing many factors. Hence it is essential to attempt presenting to society a party history based on facts in addition to a properly written history of the worker movement which is currently being worked on.

There is another important problem--the question of the treatment of the current political situation and atmosphere in training curriculums dealing with aspects of the history of the working class. The problem of the history of the Polish worker movement should be approached in a problem-oriented manner instead of chronologically alone.

The speaker next discussed several problems for consideration in studies of the past of the Polish working class--the role of the leaders and the individual in the party and the worker movement, the strategy and tactics of the political party in the struggle to win over the working class, an analytic treatment of the definition of dictatorship of the proletariat which, when properly elucidated and translated into the language of the working class, could become a completely unambiguous concept.

Comrade Feliks Kozak, in his turn, considered the attitudes of party members toward the difficult economic and political problems ensuing from the continuing crisis.

Recalling the experience in party activities during the first few years after the liberation, the speaker stressed the need for consolidating the party and strengthening intra-party discipline. Comrade Kozak further declared that the party identity card obligates its owner to display political unambiguity, and that the party member cannot hide behind another's shoulders. If he is convinced of the justice of his ideals, he must fight for them.

The speaker criticized the distinctive report-mania that has for many years been evident in the party's activities. He also postulated a radical improvement in the effectiveness of the party's work on the upbringing of youth.

#### Plenum Resolution

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30-31 Oct-1 Nov 82 p 6

/Full text: "Resolution"/

/Text/ The PZPR Province Committee in Gdansk, meeting in the plenary session devoted to the 100 years old traditions and accomplishments of the Polish worker movement, considers necessary:

##### I

A forcible emphasis on the fact that the centenary of the worker movement in Poland being celebrated this year unambiguously points to its Polish and international worker, class nature of its origins, dating from the struggle of the "Proletariat" International Social-Revolutionary Party, the SDKPiL, the KPP, the PPS-Left, the PPR and the PZPR for the working-class nature of the Polish state and the class reflection of the building of socialism in Poland.

##### II

A broad reliance on the experience of the past as the basis for an effective solution of the current problems of the intensifying political struggle as expressed in the belittling of the role of the revolutionary worker movement by political enemies.

This is of special significance to the ideological identity of the PZPR as the Marxist-Leninist party linking revolutionary theory to the practice of the transformation of socio-political conditions in the country.

##### III

The conduct of an effective, militant and workable historical education and the popularization of the century-old traditions and achievements of the Polish worker movement by all available means in accordance with the Resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR.

Knowledge of the complex historical path of the Polish worker movement and the understanding of its own traditions and history is to the party the sole

path for the analysis and comprehension of the difficult phenomena of our present political reality, as well as an inspiration for an improved solution of the problems currently facing every party organization.

Historical education cannot be limited to the celebration of successive anniversaries. It must become a continuing process in the ideological work of all party echelons and a basic task to every party member and particularly to the organizational units shaping the views and attitudes of the rising generation.

#### IV

The Province Committee considers the "Program of Action for the Propagation of the Traditions and Achievements of the Polish Worker Movement" to be an integral part of this Resolution and recommends its implementation to party echelons and organizations.

##### **Ideological-Program Assumptions**

The PZPR is the inheritor of the past and of the legacy of the Polish worker movement. The current jubilee centenary of the formation of the first Marxist workers' party in Polish land offers an excellent occasion for initiating intense and systematic research and popularization activities serving to illuminate the long and tortuous path traveled by the Polish worker movement. Showing that path against the background of the nation's history will serve to surmount the still current one-sided views and assessments and extract the permanent values inherent in the traditions and 100 years of accomplishments of the Polish worker movement.

The worker movement has played a crucial role in resolving the principal problems of society and state in accordance with the interests of the nation. The theoretical and practical activities undertaken by the political party of the proletariat contributed to the formation of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and intelligentsia. It made the public aware of the indivisibility of patriotism and socialist internationalism. It linked goals of progress and social justice to the ideals of national liberation. It assured the country independence and security through the signing of an alliance with the USSR and the Socialist Community. Under the leadership of the workers' party a permanent foundation was laid for socialist transformations as well as for implementing the principles of social justice and socialist democracy.

The basic directions of the popularization of the achievements and traditions of the Polish worker movement are historical education within the party and for the entire public as well as the elucidation, based on the regular educational system, of the current significance of the political experience of the Polish worker movement. Our activities must be offensive in nature, polemical, toward the currently circulated hostile theses undermining the significance, accomplishments and originality of the solutions offered by the movement. We should shed light on the origin of the slogans being currently proclaimed by the opposition as well as on the subversive and fallacious nature of these theses.

The dominant thesis should be that the 100 years old history and accomplishments of the Polish worker movement are a source of pride to our nation and party and at the same time a premise assuring the surmounting of the present crisis and the victory of the forces of socialism in our country.

#### Organizational Assumptions

1. An effective conduct of historical education and shaping of the historical consciousness of the members and candidate members of the PZPR as well as of the entire nation require that the popularization of the traditions of the Polish worker movement become a permanent element of ideological-upbringing work. This popularization should be so organized as to, while primarily reaching the members and candidate members of the USSR, simultaneously disseminate the meaning of the traditions of the worker movement among the broad masses of society and particularly among workers, in rural and intelligentsia communities, and among the youth. This will require the adaptation of forms and methods of action as well as of the interpretations made to the varied needs of discrete communities.

2. Hence ensue the following tasks for all party elements:

--party echelons will organize popular-scientific sessions and solemn encounters with honored activists of the worker movement;

--the basic party organizations will hold ideological meetings devoted to familiarizing their members with the traditions of the worker movement, on accenting the experience that can provide inspiration for the solution of current problems;

--party echelons will organize consultation on "Theses on the Centenary of the Polish Worker Movement" at POP [basic party organizations] and aktiv groups. At the same time, the principle should be adopted that this topic should be made a permanent part of training programs, especially as regards the training of PZPR candidate members, recent members and the aktiv;

--the Ideological Department of the Province Committee will train a group of lecturers to present lectures on the history of the worker movement and will enlist veterans of that movement for popularization activities;

--series of thematic lectures will be organized by the TWP [Society for the Popularization of Knowledge], the TKKS [expansion unknown] the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] and other socio-political organizations;

--party organizations active among teachers will develop effective forms and methods of popularizing the traditions of worker movement among the youth.

3. For an improved preparation of teachers of history in handling the topics relating to the achievements of the worker movement, the Center for the Advanced Training of Teachers will organize methodological conferences devoted to these topics and, jointly with the Office for Education and Upbringing as well as

the Ideological Department of the PZPR Province Committee, prepare a series of problem and source brochures providing the basis for the instructional exercises.

4. A important task facing the scientific community is the commencement of research into the state of historical consciousness. Steady development of historical research also is necessary. The current state of research into the regional worker movement is to be regarded as inadequate. In this connection:

--The Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the Province committee is organizing an academy devoted to the state of research into the worker movement on the Coast with the object of defining the directions of historical research.

--The Commission on History and the appropriate departments of the Province Committee will, on the basis of recommendations to be made by the academy, offer proposals regarding directions of research to scientific research centers and provide assistance to historians dealing with the history of the regional worker movement as well as take steps to determine precisely the related publishing policy.

—The Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the Province Committee will take steps to record and collect the narratives and reminiscences of worker-movement activists.

5. The Commission on the History of the Worker Movement under the Province Committee and the commissions active under the party echelons will take under their care groups of worker-movement veterans.

6. The mass media will popularize the topic by publishing articles and broadcasting programs devoted to the accomplishments of the Polish worker movement.

#### Executive Board on Winter Heat Supplies

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5-6-7 Nov 82 p 3

Article by (f): "From the Deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee in Gdansk"

Text Yesterday the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee held a meeting, which was also attended by representatives of the authorities, including Deputy Province Governor Stefan Milewski, and of trade enterprises.

The problem of the winter supplies for the population of the Gdansk Province was discussed. The submitted materials indicate that the supply of rationed goods (for the 4th quarter of this year and the first quarter of next) will suffice for the rationing quotas with the exception of chocolate and coffee whose supply hinges on imports. The supply of flour and processed grain products should be better than last year. On the other hand, the forecasts as regards the structure of the meat supplies are not too favorable. The Province Office is attempting to mesh the supplies with the public demand.

The general conclusion formulated with regard to this question was: it is necessary to develop such a system of potato, vegetable and fruit supplies as to avert nervousness and excessive costs in the future.

As regards the supply of non-rationed goods, the forecast is for a fairly good supply of dairy products, cheese, sour cream, curds. Egg supplies will be less adequate (as can already be seen on the market). In view of the decline in egg deliveries, a centralized system for egg distribution has been introduced, which is not so favorable to our province, in which procurements have been good. A similar situation prevails as regards fish supplies, which meet barely 50 percent of the demand even though we have fishery enterprises, because this commodity, too, is centrally distributed.

Much discussion was devoted to the question of potato supplies. The unpleasant experiences of the previous years resulted in a lot of nervousness. The problem was settled through the joint efforts of tradespeople and labor establishments which organized deliveries of nearly one-half of all potatoes for private consumption.

As formulated by the Executive Board, the conclusions regarding the supplies of manufactured consumer goods point to the need to develop and consistently implement a program for the operations of trade during the difficult winter period; an adequate preparation of stores, including a study of the possibilities for providing shelter premises for customers waiting in lines outside stores. Regular monitoring and supervision are needed as regards the deliveries of such staple foodstuffs as milk, meat and bakery goods to stores as well as the supply of plant dining rooms and canteens to which a part of the commodities is allotted but sometimes it remains inaccessible to workers. This is a task for the social services and subsequently for trade-union organizations.

Trade must continually hunt for more goods in the interior of the country and influence local producers so that they may supply goods in demand to the market.

The Executive Board has devoted considerable attention to the supply of winter fuel for the population. It is worth noting that the Gdansk Province Governor has been making efforts to obtain supplies of cheaper coke from Silesia and better coal.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee has also considered aspects of the supply of protective clothing and detergents for industrial-plant personnel. Stress was placed on the necessity of giving supply priority to persons working outdoors and under other exceptionally difficult conditions during the winter, with lower priorities going to other groups in succession.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee also considered the so-called sales (of coupons) through the mediation of labor establishments as well as sales within the framework of credits granted to newlyweds. These forms of the distribution of scarce goods assure a fairly just distribution, if honestly handled. On the other hand, proposals for organizing carnivals, with scarce goods such as footwear as prizes, in labor establishments, have given rise to controversy. Such a form of sales evokes no reservations when fruits, vegetables and other relatively abundant foods are concerned. Thus, the path from the producer to the consumer is shortened.

In the course of the discussion emphasis was placed on the highly committed attitude of trade personnel and plant social service personnel and the initiative displayed by party echelons and organizations, all of which has been helpful to the winter supply of the public.

In the course of its deliberations yesterday the Executive Board of the Province Committee adopted a program for political work in the countryside during the fall-winter period.

#### Ideological Conference at Gdansk-Wrzeszcz

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 9 Nov 82 pp 1,2

Article by (hb): "Ideological Conference at the PZPR City-Quarter Committee in Gdansk-Wrzeszcz: On the Centenary of the Polish Worker Movement"

[Text] Yesterday, on the occasion of the centenary of the Polish worker movement, an ideological conference organized by the PZPR City-Quarter Committee in Gdansk-Wrzeszcz was held in the State Opera and Baltic Philharmony. Those present included: Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Piotr Rajca, first secretary of the PZPR City-Quarter Committee; and Docent Doctor Habilitatus Zbigniew Kowalski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee. The auditorium of the opera was filled with party activists and worker-movement veterans.

The basis for the discussion was three reports, which were listened to with great interest, as well as extensive circumstantial materials published by Krystyna Gomolka and Dr. Edward Jarecki on the subject of the city-quarter PPR organizations in Wrzeszcz and Oliwa during the years 1945-1948. Dr. Edward Jarecki, in his paper "Experience of the Polish Worker Movement and the Ensuing Tasks for the PZPR," presented the rich and interesting history of the development of socialist ideas in our country, whose roots reach to the 1830s, as well as the history of the Polish worker movement with its 100 years old traditions.

In the lecturer's opinion, the progressive program concepts of the "Grudziadz" and "Human" communities prompted a Polish revolutionary in 1880 to write as follows to Friedrich Engels: "Socialism was not imported into Poland, contrary to the assertions of the bourgeoisie; it has grown in this country not as a means of action but as a natural result of the whole of our social relations." A highly significant event was the establishment of the Wielki Proletariat [Party] on the basis of socialist circles--a party which initiated the organized political movement of the Polish working class.

Pointing to the rich traditions of the Polish worker movement, the speaker stressed the need for the participation of the working class and its party in the process of renewal as outlined by the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This is not a matter of a purely declarative and formal participation--the speaker emphasized--but of a return to the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the sources and qualities of the Polish worker movement, to the ideas of the Polish Workers Party.

The next paper, "Political-Organizational Activities of City-Quarter Committees in Wrzeszcz and Oliwa," presented by Krystyna Gomolka, summed up the rich contributions of the pioneers in party work who--despite extensive difficulties and

in spite of the activity of forces hostile to socialism--succeeded in accomplishing a great deal during the immediate postwar years.

The varied and committed activities of the eminent theoreticians of the Polish worker movement--Ludwik Krzywicki and Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz--were the subject of the paper by Boleslaw Staporek.

Following the presentation of the papers there began a lively discussion. It dealt with both the problems considered in the papers and many complex problems of the present, stressing the need to draw proper conclusions from history, to oppose resolutely the enemies of the socialist system of society and to have party members, including worker-movement veterans, exert an edifying influence on the youth.

These aspects were considered in the speech by Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. He recalled that the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress took place at a period of acute political and ideological struggle. This struggle has not ceased, despite the introduction of the martial law. On the one hand, communists try to implement a concrete program for the development of the socialist state and on the other the anti-socialist forces attempt to exploit the working class for their ends. The existing political struggle demonstrates the need to intensify ideological-upbringing work and impose explicit objectives and methods on that work. This precisely, as emphasized by the secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, is assisted by the current ideological conference. The party and government act on the basis of the concrete program outlined by the 9th Extraordinary Congress and the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. That program provides real chances for surmounting the crisis.

Toward the end of his speech, Edward Kijek, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, expressed to the worker-movement veterans and party activists his most cordial wishes on the occasion of the centenary of the Polish worker movement.

A ceremonial aspect at the conference was the awarding of special certificates of commendations and medals to honored activists of the worker movement. The conference ended with a concert played by artists of the State Opera and Baltic Philharmony.

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**POLISH MEDIA EVALUATE WARSAW PACT POLITICAL DECLARATION**

**'RZECZPOSPOLITA' Commentary**

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8-9 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact nations has been in session during a period which has been unusually difficult in its developments for the modern world. The NATO countries, and mainly the United States, have taken up a political course of confrontation, arms race and the creation of tensions which is bringing about an ever more dangerous character to events in the world, and which is increasing the actual threat to peace. The United States, aiming to achieve a military advantage over the Soviet Union so that it might assure itself of the possibility of conducting its policies from a position of power, is developing its military potential and is forcing upon its NATO allies a program for the deployment of nuclear weapons to be levelled at the socialist countries. The aggressive imperialistic circles are preparing new strategic concepts and doctrines, the realization of which may push the world into a nuclear war. In the affairs of the Reagan administration, the process of detente and international cooperation has been checked. The U.S. Administration, in its fervor to destroy that which was achieved with so much effort at Helsinki, is using every occasion presenting itself in order to turn the world away from the opening European Conference On Security and Cooperation and to hinder the development of international cooperation. For this purpose, the present U.S. Administration is using the events in our country, blowing up tensions in the Near East, Latin America, and all around Afghanistan, Cambodia and many other nations, brutally interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign nations and aiming at forcing its own politics on them. At the same time, the United States is blocking all disarmament talks both in Vienna and Geneva and at the United Nations, bringing an atmosphere of confrontation into the conferences in Madrid and organizing propaganda diversions and help for the forces of reaction.

The activities engaged upon by the Reagan administration have one intention--the weakening of nations of the socialist community, world dominion and the dictation of its own political and economic conditions.

This course, if left unopposed by another alternative, must lead to a further growth of international tension, the sharpening of conflicts and a new arms race with its disastrous consequences.

A different alternative has been proposed to the world by the socialist nations, which, in the declaration adopted in Prague, have formulated a program aimed at the elimination from the world's societies of all of the elements presently constituting the most important threat to the peaceful coexistence and security of nations.

A far-reaching proposition has been advanced in Prague for the conclusion of an agreement between the Warsaw Pact nations and NATO concerning a mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of conditions for peace. The taking up of this initiative by NATO would favor the process of surmounting Europe's division into two opposite military groups, cause the reduction of tensions on our continent, where the largest number of arms are massed. Acceptance of the initiative would also give a new impulse to stalled arms negotiations.

The socialist states have simultaneously renewed all of the most essential propositions for slowing down the arms race: a freeze and then reductions of nuclear arsenals, discontinuation of the production of fissionable materials, working out of an agreement on a complete and overall ban on nuclear arms testing, a convention on the banning and liquidation of chemical and neutron weapons, completing work on coordinating an international convention on the banning of radiological weapons, quickly coming to talks on the matter of a ban on deploying all types of weapons in space, and the advancement of solutions to strengthen the security of nations not having nuclear weapons.

A position was presented at Prague which was opposed in the confrontational, antipeace political line of NATO, and especially of Washington. This position is the expression of the socialist community's consistent policy and reflects its unchangeable will to actively defend peace and prevent the occurrence of a nuclear catastrophe.

Realization of the peace program will not be easy. These are, however, the propositions behind which stand not only the support of the millions of people to whom peace and detente are dear, but also the unity of the socialist countries and, according to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Yuri Andropov in his characterization of the results of the Prague conference, their economic and defensive potential standing guard over the security of our countries as well as the fate of the world as a whole.

The Prague Declaration has thus again confirmed the loyalty of the socialist nations to the principles of peaceful coexistence, their consistent and constructive approach, and their offensive capability and far-sightedness in view of the basic problems of the world, a divided world which must come to terms with itself if it is to survive.

#### 'POLITYKA' Commentary

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 83 p 14

[Commentary by Henryk Zdanowski: "Time for Reflection"]

[Text] The analysis of the present international situation made at the Prague Conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee can be reduced to the following points:

--confrontation is taking the place of cooperation;

--the arms race is entering an increasingly dangerous phase;

--ingrained tensions are being inflamed and new crises and conflicts are breaking out;

--obstacles to the normal development of economic cooperation are being created.

All things considered, the development of world events is becoming ever more dangerous "as a result of the further activation of aggressive forces" rising against peaceful coexistence.

Is this, then, a return to the "cold war" of the fifties?

No, because, as the DKP [Political Consultative Committee] declaration has emphasized, powerful social forces have also been activated recently and these forces are acting for the abandonment of political confrontation. Thanks to them "possibilities exist for overcoming a dangerous stage of international relations."

However, one may say that such forces were also active during the time of the "cold war," thus, they are not a sufficient distinction for the beginning of the eighties.

However, fundamental qualitative changes have indeed been made over the past thirty (or forty) years in the "peace camp." They concern the might of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community whose "care for peace rises from the very nature of the social system." Those changes also concern the political parties, movements with different ideological orientations, and huge groups of people raising their voices against the arms race, the kindling of armed conflicts and against war.

This difference in quality consists, among other things, of the fact that the peace movement of the fifties was above all rooted in the negative, tragic experiences of war, but today the most widely conceived forces for peace also have a perspective of the positive experiences from the detente years, of cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

Thus now at the threshold of the eighties, unlike years ago, it is no longer possible to write off uncomfortable peace initiatives from the USSR and the socialist block with a slogan about their "propaganda character." This slogan is denied by concrete international agreements that were made in the seventies and which, after all, were postulated earlier in the Soviet Peace Program of 1971 (CPSU XXIV Congress). Other Warsaw Pact political initiatives in Europe, such as the provision of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act, have also given the lie to this slogan. The U.S. Administration had convinced itself of this when it rejected out of hand Yuri Andropov's disarmament proposal, made by him in December 1982 at the USSR's sixtieth anniversary ceremony. In view of contradiction by his European allies and indignation in U.S. public opinion, President Reagan has had to back off from the totally negative position so hastily taken.

Thus now, following the DKP's Prague Declaration, Washington has become more constrained. This is finding expression in the U.S.'s first, careful reactions to the propositions made by the Warsaw Pact leaders.

There are several of these propositions, some of which are a confirmation of continuation of peace policies by the socialist community. The most important proposition, however, is the conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations.

This unique "nonaggression pact," unique because it would be concluded between political blocks rather than between nations, has a special meaning today. The Declaration states that "given the entire complexity of contemporary international problems, the perspectives for developing the situation in Europe and the world depends to a large degree on whether it is possible to do away with the lack of faith, and to lower the level of confrontation between the two greatest military and political alliances, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, each having command of great force, especially in nuclear weapons. An armed clash between them would have disastrous consequences for all of mankind."

The proposed treaty mutually banning the use of military force without specification as to type, would liquidate the threat of all types of aggression, and thus of war in general, between the East and West, and above all, on the European continent. Of course, there may no longer be any other war than a nuclear war.

This has already been known for a long time, but recently, the idea has somehow become officially acknowledged. At the beginning of the year, Swedish television broadcast a longer interview with Gen Bernhard Rogers, commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Europe. Gen Rogers declared, "openly for the first time," according to the television commentator, that the West is prepared to use atomic weapons first in answer to an attack by conventional forces. "In my opinion, we must have such a possibility," said Rogers, "because the present situation, along with our awareness of the East, may determine our having to use these weapons. This is one of the basic screens against an attack by superior conventional forces." In the event of such an attack, NATO today would be "very quickly" forced to use nuclear weapons.

"Who started it" is immaterial in this reasoning: what is important is that solutions to the problem of graduating a response and escalation of the "nuclear threshold" have disappeared from the NATO strategic doctrine. That threshold has simply ceased to exist and nuclear weapons are somehow becoming the automatic next move of all armed actions. In this situation, the proposed "non-aggression pact" is a radical, global solution and thus, one for the future.

It is not surprising, then, that the DKP Declaration, independently of such a solution, pays close attention to the "here and now," above all, in relation to the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe.

In this context, the document stresses the significance of the Soviet-American "Eurostrategic" negotiations in Geneva and refers to Andropov's proposal of 21 December 1982 (the USSR will deploy in Europe only as many rockets as Great Britain and France have) and adds: "These negotiations (Geneva) are being held in conditions in which the NATO nations are proclaiming the intention of deploying in Western Europe new U.S. medium-range missiles at the end of 1983 if the negotiations do not produce an agreement by that time. With such an approach, equivalent to setting an arbitrary date for closing the negotiations, it will be enough for its adherents to draw out the talks so that later, having a lack of an agreement as a motive, they can place U.S. rockets into deployment."

It is generally known that 1983 may, depending on the results of the Geneva negotiations, become the caesura of further and violent worsening of relations on the East-West axis. However, the socialist leaders recognize this NATO-imposed caesura as an "artificial deadline." This is not an unwarranted statement, since we find in the fragment from the Declaration quoted above the proof of the truth of this thesis: it is a deadline, which the U.S. side can freely manipulate in agreement with their own demands. The United States is interested in the deployment of on our continent of Pershing and cruise missiles. At best, their European allies regard this as a necessary evil that would be better avoided, but very many western politicians and the majority of the people regard the U.S. "build-up" of NATO as a challenge or blackmail of the USSR.

It looks as if the challenge has twin purposes. One of them is the gaining of military superiority. It is worthwhile in this context to quote the opinion of one of the most well-known French journalists, Andre Fontaine. In "Le Monde," Fontaine wrote of Andropov's proposals: "Parity remains the main emphasis in relations (USSR) with the United States. The Soviet Union feels that in the 1970's, the Americans themselves solemnly admitted that a balance of power exists conferred the status of superpower on the Soviet Union. The Soviets will not give this up. They will not endeavor to match every new American weapon, but they will act to maintain global equilibrium, regardless of whatever economic sacrifices that it entails. Andropov, in every speech that he has made from the time of his election to the position of Secretary General, has stressed that the Soviet armed forces will lack in nothing...this is a statement of a lasting element of Soviet politics."

Thus, if not military superiority, Washington's other goal is to use arms to weaken the USSR economically. In an interview with the weekly STERN, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt summed up the U.S. blackmail: "The concept of 'overarming' the USSR to death is simply idiotic."

A lack of faith in the effectiveness of U.S. pressure as well as distrust of Reagan's intentions at Geneva are causing Western Europe to view the U.S.'s backing off from the 1983 break in the arms race as a hard term for negotiations. On a visit to Washington, West Germany's SPD [Social Democratic Party] candidate for the Chancellory, Hans-Jochen Vogel, declared that the U.S. could hold off on the deployment in Europe of its new nuclear missiles to the degree that the Geneva disarmament talks show promise in the future. During a press conference, he stated that "we are not convinced that the situation would require rocket deployment."

The reaction of not only the NATO member nations, but also of NATO as a whole is conclusive to the political challenge to the West given in the DKP Prague Declaration. And in this, we again observe a regularity which has repeatedly made itself known: NATO is more confrontational as a block than in its individual members; it conforms to the doctrinal standard of its more militant member, the United States. On the morning following the Prague Declaration, the West German news agency DPA [German News Agency] reported: "NATO circles declare that the Warsaw Pact proposal is nothing new." This, of course, is in reference to the proposed "nonaggression pact."

If not to bad will, the statement above does attest to rashness, which is also destructive, UPI's Viennese correspondent wrote that if the Warsaw Pact's proposition were to be accepted and if that led to immediate and open talks between the blocks, this would open a new era in the disarmament negotiations. That would change the conditions upon which arms talks, especially SALT I, SALT II and START I were determined by the superpowers, whereas the European nations found themselves in the background.

Therefore, the European members of NATO are separately more constructive than NATO headquarters. British Foreign Minister Francis Pym has indeed emphasized the fact that, in the past, nonaggression pacts have been already unilaterally broken (this is a nonsensical argument against the conclusion of any sort of pact), but admitted that the Prague proposals are worth special consideration. Foreign Minister of the German Federal Republic Hans-Dietrich Genscher said in a special declaration that the Warsaw Pact proposal should be very seriously examined. Even President Reagan, in answer to a question at his first press conference following the Prague Declaration, declared that the Warsaw Pact's proposal of a nonaggression pact "is worth considering" after discussion with the NATO allies, of course.

This is exactly the new turn in the present international situation in contrast to the historical period of the real cold war. At that time, but also in the last two years, more or less, disarmament peace proposals made by the USSR and the socialist community were rejected a priori as "propaganda manipulations" before their contents were even examined. This attitude can no longer be allowed, as the stakes are too high, all the more so, because in many countries, a spontaneous social opposition has risen that is compelling its governments to stop and reflect.

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POLAND

KIELCE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Plenum on Agriculture

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 82 pp 1,2

Report: "Kielce Agriculture Can Make a Greater Contribution to Feeding the Nation: Joint Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee and the ZSL [United Peasants Party] Supreme Committee: Those Taking Part in the Deliberations Included Zbigniew Michalek, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Jozef Koziol, Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

Text Yesterday in Kielce were held the joint deliberations of the PZPR Province Committee and the ZSL Province Committee dealing with the assessment of Kielce agriculture and the determination of the directions of activity of the PZPR and the ZSL in the countryside. The plenum was attended by members and candidate members of the PZPR and ZSL province committees, delegates to the 9th PZPR Congress, [Parliament] deputies from Kielce Province, and first secretaries and chairmen of gmina /parish/ and city-gmina PZPR and ZSL committees, leaders of the province youth organizations—the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth], the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], chairmen of co-operative associations active in the countryside and directors of agricultural service centers. Those taking part in the deliberations also included: Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Jozef Koziol, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee; Krzysztof Zareba, chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Province Committee; Ryszard Zbrog, chairman of the Province People's Council; Włodzimierz Pasternak, province governor; Col Stanislaw Iwanski, province military commissioner; and Col Jozef Dolak, province militia commander.

The meeting was opened by Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, who delivered the opening address, stressing that joint meetings of the province echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL in the Kielce Province are an old tradition and demonstrate the great importance attached by the party and the ZSL to the problem of feeding the nation.

The basis for discussion was the report prepared by the PZPR and ZSL province committees assessing the current situation of Kielce agriculture and presenting the tasks for the next few years, which was presented by Czeslaw Kozak, chairman of the ZSL Province Committee, along with a report by the province governor on the state of agriculture.

This was followed by discussion, in which 22 speakers took part. Owing to limitations of time, several of the written comments were subjoined to the minutes of the meeting.

/Jozef Koziol, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee, also took the floor at the plenum./

He declared that aspects of agriculture and food production are jointly decided upon by the PZPR and the ZSL, as demonstrated by the current plenum. Food production is becoming increasingly important. This also is a question of the self-sufficiency and independence of our country. Suffice it to mention that about 50 percent of all raw materials used in our industry derive from agriculture. It is appropriate at this meeting, on listening to the discussion, to pose yet again the question of whether food production and the implementation of the related resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee indeed have priority. The answers to this question differ. Yet both the recent 9th Plenum of the ZSL Supreme Committee and the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee expressed their full support of the common principles of agricultural policy outlined nearly 2 years ago. As we have been diverging from our resolutions in previous years, agriculture experienced a number of vicissitudes. But a correct approach to agriculture requires the parallel consideration of two factors: on the part of the state--the provision of adequate means of production; and on the part of farmers--conscientious fulfillment of their obligations.

The discussion touched upon distortions in the services of the cooperatives to agriculture. But where are the party and ZSL members belonging to the cooperatives? Self-government, in which we place great hopes, is being revived. We have new laws on cooperatives and rural self-government. They satisfy the postulates of the peasants regarding autonomy and independence and relate to the rich traditions of the countryside in this respect.

Much has also been said about providing adequate economic conditions for production, and I wish to discuss this topic. It entails the highly important question of assuring for farmers the same income as that of the urban population. This is one of the canons of agricultural policy. The reform of retail prices introduced early this year has not been offset by an increase in the procurement prices for rural produce, and the rural population suffers--on also considering the increases in the prices of means of production--the consequences of the crisis just as much as do the employees of the socialized sector of the economy. A 20-percent decline in incomes has set in, just as for the group of the non-rural population. Understanding the fact that the countryside suffers the consequences of the crisis just as much as do the cities can assist greatly in the reconciliation of society. This is why costs and incomes in agriculture should be annually evaluated and used to revise prices so as to prevent the incomes of farmers from falling behind the incomes of the urban population.

It is being said at present that peasants have fewer incentives for developing livestock production. This is due to the shortage of goods on the rural market. Here lies the key to the expansion of agricultural production. The incomes of farmers in the Kielce Province and other provinces with a similar agrarian structure depend on the proper selection of production, on the development of more labor-intensive but also more profitable crops. This also concerns strengthening the economically weak farms.

During the discussion it was asked: who made the decision to fix the high prices of potatoes? There exist official prices for several staple rural produce (milk, livestock, grain). But potatoes are sold at contract prices owing to, among other things, previous demands of farmers and in cooperation with branch associations of producers. The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has introduced rigid prices for potatoes early last September, because the retention of earlier higher prices threatened livestock production. Let us also bear in mind that we desire to introduce the principle of granting higher prices to the first purveyors of particular crops rather than, as has been the case sometimes, to those who waited until the end to deliver their crops.

Considerable efforts are now being made to restructure the economy in the pro-agricultural direction. This is the most important task at the moment. Have the related measures produced tangible effects so far? It seems that some improvements are taking place in, among others, the machine building industry, as demonstrated by the commencement of the production of a minitractor by the Communal Equipment Production Plant (WUKO) in Stąporkow, Kielce Province. But this is only the beginning. Unless adequate economic incentives are provided for plants undertaking production for agriculture, there will be no real interest in that production and no stable market.

We live in a difficult period. The last 2 months finally brought us a halt in the decline in output and we are beginning to attain a surplus of exports over imports. An oft-discussed question in our society is: which occupations and social classes suffer most from the consequences of the crisis? We all should attend to learning mutually about the living and working conditions of the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia. This is an important condition for surmounting the crisis in which our country found itself.

/The elucidation of certain aspects of agricultural policy and the attitude to be taken toward certain comments made in the discussion were the subject of the speech by Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee./

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee declared: "Both in the report and in the discussion the formulation of tasks for the province itself is to be valued, considering that most often claims are addressed only to 'the top' /the central authorities/. The recent plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee are proof that their joint directives on agricultural policy will not be an empty exercise. It should be realized, however, that the 30 percent /of total output of means of production/ for agriculture is rather a pie in the sky, considering that it has not been manufactured yet. Thus, for example, it is known that until 1985 we will not be able to provide the anticipated quantities of artificial fertilizers. And yet crops depend not so much on fertilizers as on people and their industrious care and exploration of other possibilities. You have a good example of such care in the "Malogoszcz" Cement Plant which initiated the production of fertilizers from dolomites.

"And what about people? It has been stated that farmers with good training in agriculture obtain results 30 percent higher than other farmers. But we axed, as the saying goes, the Agricultural Training Schools (SPR) and other forms of agricultural training.

"As you have mentioned in the discussion, the distribution of seed grain has been incomplete. Now 800 million zlotys has to be spent nationally on refunding the cost of producing that quality grain and allocating it for consumption. But farmers should not short-sightedly perceive only the momentary advantages: they also should perceive what they gain or lose in the long run. The point is that they will thus lose 3-4 quintals [per hectare] by planting substandard grain.

"The mechanization of your agriculture is lower than in other regions of the country, and your farms are smaller as well. After all, not every small farmer must have a tractor, because the state cannot afford it. You can achieve progress in mechanization by improving the structure of farms. What is important is that in the current difficult situation it has been possible to avert a decline in [crop] deliveries and means of production for the countryside. Lastly, the discussed issue of procurement prices needs to be elucidated. Nowhere are these prices set for the benefit of the inefficient farmer, because then the efficient farmer could become a millionaire. These questions must be resolved comprehensively by means of an appropriate contract and tax system.

"And lastly there is the fundamental question: can we feed ourselves? I personally declare yes. Were all the provinces in Poland like the Leszczyna, Poznan, and Opole provinces, we would not have to purchase [import] grain. We all here assembled are members of the ruling parties and should decide on how to provide grain to the country. I agree that incentives for agricultural production are declining because we have too much money in circulation. Supply and demand should settle these matters.

"We now have good legislation on self-government. The point at present is that our party and ZSL members should monitor the performance of the people who will be active in self-governments, considering that we will recommend these individuals. I believe that party and ZSL members should set the pace in all fields, and then we would have many fewer difficult problems to solve."

Following its deliberations, the plenum adopted a joint resolution on the further directions of the development of Kielce agriculture.

In his closing address first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee Maciej Lubczynski emphasized that both province echelons and all elements of the PZPR and the ZSL have the obligation of implementing the resolutions adopted concerning aspects of the development of agriculture. He appealed for repulsing in the immediate future all those who desire again to cause dissension in our society.

The plenum was ended by signing "The International" and "When the Nation to Battle...."

## Executive Board on Economic Reforms

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 24 Nov 82 p 2

"Signed article: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: Utilization of the Winter Season; Introduction of the Economic Reform; Improving the Start of Life for Young People"

[Text] In recent months many issues connected with the Kielce countryside have arisen that warrant thorough discussion. This concerns not only an effective utilization of the existing production-type assets of agriculture but also the functioning of the mechanisms of social life, the creation of an atmosphere of trust in the state's agricultural policy, the consolidation of the conviction that the problems of feeding the nation cannot be solved without co-responsibility of farmers regardless of the /private or socialized farming/ sector in which they work. In this connection, as ensues from the report on the state of Kielce agriculture, 15 percent of farms did not sell any produce at all to the state, and 22 percent sold not more than 15,000 zlotys worth each. This means that the marketability of that agriculture is low, and that in the long run this situation is not to be tolerated.

In such a situation, the utilization of the winter season to activize political-organizational work in the countryside, and in the institutions serving agriculture, acquires a special importance. The Executive Board of the Province Committee has in this connection drawn attention to several principal problems in this respect. Among other things, it has drawn attention to the change in the criterions for evaluating the effectiveness of marketable production in agriculture, the development and strengthening of rural self-government, the streamlining of services and improvements in social and living conditions in the countryside. The local party echelons and organizations, along with elements of the ZSL, should attempt also to utilize the winter season for familiarizing the countryside thoroughly with the parliament decrees concerning socio-occupational organizations of farmers, cooperatives, and old age pensions for farmers.

Yesterday the Executive Board of the Province Committee also discussed the preparations for the plenary session of the Province Committee planned for the beginning of December. That session will deal with the implementation of economic tasks, introduction of the reform, and application of the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee to the Kielce Province. The related program of action presented to the Executive Board contains an ensemble of tasks for all party echelons and organizations as well as for the economic and state administration in the province.

The last item on the agenda of the Executive Board of the Province Committee was the complex whole of the problems relating to the rising generation and its occupational and political activization; the facilitation of its start in life; and the activities of youth organizations, their mutual cooperation and the authority they enjoy in various communities. During the discussion considerable attention was devoted to the activities of the Committee for Youth operating unde the Kielce province governor. The tasks of this committee include the co-

ordination of all initiatives and projects coming from youth communities and organizations. Of course, they have the greatest opportunities to show what they can do. It is they, too, which should display the greatest initiative in winning over an increasing number of sympathizers and members for their own programs. But no one should immure himself within his own community. The actions in behalf of the youth should encompass the entire generation.

#### Plenum on Economic Reform

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 3-4-5 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Unsigned article: "There is a Place for Everyone in Reforming the Economy: Plenum of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee Attended by M. Gorywoda, Central Committee Secretary"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface

**[Text]** Yesterday the PZPR Province Committee held a plenary session in Kielce to discuss the tasks of the Kielce Province party organization in implementing the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee.

The participants included secretaries of plant party echelons, directors of the region's largest enterprises, representatives of the province economic administration and of the monitoring-inspection and financial organs as well as of trade associations. Also participating were members of the Economic Commission of the PZPR Province Committee, directors of regional centers of party work, and representatives of the fraternal parties and youth organizations of the province. Also attending were Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of the construction and building materials industry; Krzysztof Zareba, chairman of the SD /Democratic Party/ Province Committee; Andrzej Lato, secretary of the ZSL /United Peasants Party/ Province Committee; Ryszard Zbrog, chairman of the Province People's Council; Res Col Stanislaw Iwanski, KOK /Committee of National Defense/ plenipotentiary for the province; Wladzimierz Pasternak, Kielce Province Governor; and Col Jozef Dolak, province militia commander.

The meeting was opened by Maciej Lubczynski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Province Committee. Referring to the documents of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, he stated, among other things: /"We want to determine the tasks and proposals whose implementation could contribute to improving the economic situation in our province. The Kielce Province party organization often discusses economic matters, which is natural considering that the level of management in plants and enterprises largely determines the political situation in the region."/

The report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee--on the tasks of the province party organizations in implementing the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum--was presented by Zdzislaw Kowalski, secretary of the Province Committee.

During the first part of the plenum three persons took the floor.

Mieczyslaw Wojciechowski, director of the Province Branch of the NBP National Bank of Poland in Kielce, stated:

"The current situation in the economy of the province, as in that of the entire country, is marked by the discrepancy between the money in circulation among consumers and the available food and manufactured consumer goods. The causes of this situation are to be sought in, among other things, the ceaseless increases in all kinds of benefits paid to the population and the lack of interest at enterprises in developing output for the market. The price increases created opportunities for excess profits, even despite a market decrease in output. Some province enterprises have increased their profits 300 percent even though they operate at 50-percent capacity. This is one reason why the shortage of goods in the Kielce Province at present is estimated at more than 20 billion zlotys. A condition for improving the situation is the introduction of changes that would link the increase in wage fund to the actual increase in output and to improvements in the quality of goods supplied to the market."

Zdzislaw Myslinski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the PREDOM-MESKO Metal Works, stated:

"At our enterprise management is being streamlined. In the course of conferences, encounters and training courses the work-force was familiarized with the assumptions of the economic reform, but this does not mean that all employees are equally convinced of the validity of the changes being introduced. The organizational structure is being altered and the utilization of materials, energy, etc. is being improved. The plant party echelon devotes much time and attention to these problems. FREDOM-MESKO at present is achieving good results in production, and labor productivity has risen. But not everything can be accomplished and there are problems with, e.g. the shortage of skilled personnel in certain departments (some 1,200 persons recently retired on pension). The party has initiated steps to revive the labor-saving movement and streamline technical supervision."

Zdzislaw Kopiec, the director of the NIDA Clothing Plants, declared:

"Many people speak of the lack of raw and other materials for production. These materials are being sought throughout Poland, and yet they are located nearby. For example, NIDA has reached an agreement with Poultry Works, from which it purchases down, which is an excellent heat-insulating lining for jackets. Every possibility is being exploited: even the uselessly standing broiler hatcheries are being utilized. There is a lack of sewing machines and spare parts for them. In this connection, the supposedly outdated but renowned "lucznik" machine used to be manufactured until several years ago. Could not its manufacture be reconsidered? Sometimes there is a long wait before the proper decision is taken, thus forfeiting chances to increase output and rapidly sell goods in demand on the market. This situation is exploited by speculators and the loser is the average citizen and the state as well."

These comments were followed by discussion within five staff groups (related on p 3 of this issue of SLOWO LUDU).

During the second part of the plenary meeting reports were presented by the chairmen of the five staff groups.

During the plenary meeting Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered an address dealing with the principal decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, intended to provide objective conditions for surmounting the economic crisis and stabilizing the material situation of society. He declared that that Plenum assessed critically the measures taken by the government and outlined more precisely a program of action reducing to the Three-Year Plan for the recovery of the national economy. The assumptions of that plan were publicized to consult the opinion of society. The suggestions and proposals made served to revise the plan with the object of expanding housing construction and public health and increasing social services to the social groups most affected by the consequences of the crisis.

On the basis of the resolutions of the 10th Plenum the principles of the economic reform also were modified with the object of enhancing the autonomy and operating effectiveness of the enterprises. At the same time, the central authorities were placed under the obligation of monitoring the distribution of raw materials, machinery and equipment so as to give priority to the branches of the economy that are of fundamental importance to providing society with staple foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods. Our limited possibilities at present cause this measure to be of fundamental and political importance.

Comrade Manfred Gorywoda further stated that there is a universal demand for adherence to the principles of social justice. The party and the government shall do all in their power to prevent an unfair distribution of national income by combatting speculations and revising legal regulations and the principles of taxation policy. This also concerns revising the wage system so that it would satisfy the universal demand: good wages for good work. The Central Committee secretary also discussed the situation in agriculture, stating that everything possible should be done to prevent the disturbing decline in livestock production.

Concerning the international situation at present, the speaker stated that the West is currently waging an open economic war against the socialist bloc, with Poland being a special objective. The Central Committee secretary expressed his deep conviction that our country shall emerge from the present crisis on implementing consistently the program for economic and social renewal resolved upon at the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress and being refined at the regular sessions of the PZPR Central Committee.

The plenary session adopted a resolution defining the specific measures to be taken by the province party organization in order to implement the tasks of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

As regards organizational matters, personnel changes were decided upon with respect to three commissions of the PZPR Province Committee: Ideological Culture,

Science, and Education. The plenum approved the new director of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation under the Province Committee, Henryk Malinowski. Eugeniusz Cias was recalled from membership in the province party echelon.

As the session came to its end, Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Province Committee, stressed the influence of the economic reform on public mood and the political situation in the province. He declared that the results achieved in the economy will be decisive to the success of the program of our organizations and echelons.

Soon it will be a year since the historic decision was made to introduce martial law. The Province Committee Secretary declared that not everyone has the same view of that decision, but the important thing is that it has brought calm and saved our state. Now that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is becoming consolidated and the performance of many plants is becoming stabilized, the party should be ready to take over from the military full responsibility for the future destiny of our country. We must--by leading the nation and serving the working class by our attitude and commitment--stand in the forefront of the struggle and work for the rebirth of the fatherland.

The first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee asked the military commissioner for the Kielce Province and the province militia commander to convey his thanks to all military and militia personnel for honest and loyal service in preserving law and order in our region.

#### Party Organizational Tasks

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 3-4-5 Dec 82 p 3

Unsigned article: "Tasks of the Province Party Organization in Implementing the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: Abbreviated Text of the Report of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee" under the rubric "From the Deliberations of the Plenum"

Text The 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee has decisively affirmed the will of our party to continue the program line of the 9th Congress regarding both the socio-economic policy and the struggle for the idea of national agreement, which meets with increasing understanding and support from society.

The attitude of the working class to the actions taken by the political opposition is demonstrated by the total boycott of the appeals for strikes and demonstrations on the area of our province. This attitude provides a real chance for the further normalization of the socio-political situation and provides the conditions for improvements in the economic situation. The economic tasks posed by the 10th Plenum require of party members tenacity in implementing them.

Broad public consultation of the assumptions of the 1983-1985 Plan throughout our province revealed that problems of agriculture and food supply are regarded by the public to be the most important. These problems were the subject of the preceding plenary session of the Province Committee held on 3 November jointly

with the ZSL Province Committee, at which the stage of agriculture in the Kielce Province was assessed and the directions of the political work of the PZPR and the ZSL in that field were agreed upon.

The supply of manufactured consumer goods to the market is a highly emotional issue. Although rationing has been extended to most goods, imperfections in the rationing system and lack of adequate supplies continue to result in various tensions and conflict situations. To meet the demands of the work-forces, the operating hours of butcher stores were altered and deliveries of goods facilitating their purchase after work hours were assured. An adequate supply of rationed goods has been assured and the system for granting ration coupons has been improved. Negotiations between the Province Office and the plants producing consumer goods have been productive. Some plants began to operate in two shifts and on free Saturdays. The extra goods thus produced are estimated at 100 million zlotys. But further improvements in supplies can be achieved solely through a marked increase in the output of manufactured consumer goods, which, however, despite the various measures taken, is not occurring as anticipated in this province. This increase can be accomplished if the enterprises were to operate at fuller capacity.

Only the Communal Equipment Plant in Stąporkowo has commenced the manufacture of tractors for agriculture precisely with the object of an improved utilization of production capacities and satisfaction of the market demand. We expect more from the small industry. Despite a satisfactory fulfillment of economic targets, there is no evident improvement in flexibility of response to consumer needs and utilization of local raw materials in our region.

A separate problem is the determination of the prices of goods. Many enterprises include in their prices all extra costs due to poor management, organizational shortcomings and ordinary laxity. Improvements in the organization of transport at enterprises of our province are still progressing too slowly.

Housing construction is a subject of great public controversy. The absence of building lots is a barrier to the expansion of single-family housing construction. This matter should be resolved without delay by the local administrative agencies.

An exception is the plants which provide aid in single-family housing construction to the members of their work-forces, with the related initiatives being made by many groups of young people. So far only two youth associations for the construction of single-family homes have been established. It is precisely the channeling of the wishes and enthusiasm of young people that could here be of the greatest assistance to the solution of this urgent issue. As regards the number of facilities being built for the health service, it can be said that we have commenced repairing the many years of omissions in that field. On the other hand, the excessively slow progress being made in building such projects as the hospital in Miechow or the Children's Hospital in Kielce is causing increasingly sharper public criticism. The situation as regards the fulfillment of the targets for construction of school buildings is disturbing. During the first 10 months of this year only 56.7 percent of the outlays planned for this year on these purposes have been utilized.

The broadening of the social front for the introduction of the principles of the economic reform and the mobilization of the work forces for the implementation

of tasks urgently necessitate reactivating worker self-governments and creating a favorable climate for the organization of trade unions. So far barely 34 worker self-governments have been reactivated in this province, with an additional 33 being under consideration.

The existence of the self-governments is indispensable for consulting Workers about the draft plans of enterprises. And we consider it necessary that drafts of plans for 1983 and for the period ending in 1985 be prepared in every enterprise of the province.

Since the legislation of the decree on trade unions by the Diet, 344 initiating teams, i.e. in 28 percent of the enterprises, have formed in this province. They were established in large communities where the polarization of attitudes and evaluations had been the sharpest in the past and where it seemed that their establishment would be the most difficult. But it is there that the stronger party organizations also operate--strong in action and in authority. The situation is worse in the smaller communities where the shortcomings in the performance of party organizations at plant, gmina and county centers of party work are fully evident.

We are catching up with the lag in last year's production. However, it is being difficult to implement export targets, since production for export hinges on supply imports. These difficulties are being experienced by the Starachowice Truck Factory, the Specialized Car Factory (FSS), the ISKRA Roller

Bearings Factory (FLT), and the CHEMAR Chemical Equipment and Industrial Fixtures Plant in Kielce. Larger shipments than a year ago are being made by FREDOM-MESKO (105.9 percent) and the NOWOTKA Iron and Steel Plant (103.2 percent). October was the 4th month in a row during which work discipline improved and labor productivity increased, in industry. The growth rate of labor productivity was 7.7 percent whereas the increase in wages incommensurately reached 30 percent. The utilization of worktime continues to be poor. The number of idled workhours increased 9.4 percent compared with the previous year.

The performance of construction enterprises was lower than last year. The fall of basic production during the first 10 months of this year was 17.9 percent, and labor productivity declined 10.7 percent, while wages rose 23.0 percent on the average. As a result, 300 fewer apartments are being released for occupancy this year compared with the preceding year. The unprepared state of building lots and lack of infrastructure produces a considerable adverse effect on the situation in construction. Extremely poor results have been recorded in the performance of communal-economy investments.

At present there are about 10,000 vacancies on the job market in the province, chiefly as regards blue-collar jobs, while at the same time employment in white-collar jobs has remained stable. This decrease in employment is to be regarded as a reserve of manpower that could be utilized by work establishments to further expand output. Tremendous latent potential is harbored in the conservation of the raw and other material and fuel-energy resources available at the enterprises. This offers a field of action for scientific-technical societies and public organizations.

It is incomprehensible that only 115 enterprises in the Kielce Province belong to the Province Club for Technology and Labor-Saving Innovations. We expect that the recent revisions of the law on inventions and the principles for the remuneration of inventors will help revive this movement. It is particularly important to curtail the quantities of production components that have to be imported. Despite the related accomplishments, particularly at the Starachowice Truck Plant, the Kielce CHEMAR and the Koneckie Foundry Works, the dependence of production on import shipments still continues to be considerable.

Steps taken by the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade /PIH2/, the Kielce Exporters Club and the TPPR /Polish-Russian Friendship Society/ have prompted many plants to develop or begin cooperation with the USSR. This served to utilize surplus capacity at the REKORD ZPD /Knitwear Goods Plant/ in Jedrzejow and assure shipments of scarce materials for the Roller Bearings Plant ISKRA in Kielce. At present, more than 30 industrial plants engage in regular cooperation with the Soviet Union.

We had assessed the introduction of the economic reform last March at a plenary session of the Province Committee. At the time, we evaluated positively the activities of party organizations and management at 11 the investigated enterprises and outlined further directions of action. All the party organizations evaluated the extent of introduction of the reform and addressed more specific recommendations to the economic administration agencies with the object of improving management efficiency and increasing production.

At every plant the engineer and technician personnel was evaluated from the standpoint of its utilization and possibilities for action, as well as of its activity and suitability. The resulting recommendations served to draft programs for personnel policies at the plants. The activities of party organizations in behalf of the adaptation of young people should be closely linked to the activities of youth organizations. In this work the managerial and middle-level supervisory personnel cannot be overlooked. A special role is played by foremen.

Ever since the year had begun the enterprises have been working to develop incentive systems whose introduction should stimulate restoring the relationship between output and wages. The solutions introduced at plants pursuant to Resolution No 135 of the Council of Ministers have resulted in preliminary changes in systems of remuneration oriented toward increasing basic pay and reducing the share of bonuses in overall wages. The adopted solutions do not meet the needs and expectations of the work forces as well as of enterprise management. It is necessary to search for better solutions contributing to increase in production and improvements in its quality.

To implement all the proposed measures, party organizations and echelons must look for allies. The adopted goals can be achieved only upon gaining the full approbation of the work forces for the tasks undertaken and including the broad aktiv in their implementation. This was stressed in the speech of comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, at the 10th Plenum, when he declared: "The most effective method of convincing people is mobilizing them for specific activities. Let them calculate the costs; let them have a say as to where dismissals or transfers should be made; let them suggest where savings can be achieved. This creates a need for courageous, stubborn and even bothersome individuals--for people who care."

## Party Discussions by Staff Groups

Kiele SLOWO LUDU in Polish 3-4-5 Dec 82 p 3

[Series of group reports: "Discussions at Staff Groups: Plenary Meeting of the Province PZPR Committee in Kielce"]

### /Text/ Motivation and Personnel Policies

Different motivations of work and cadre policies were discussed by the group directed by Marian Surma, Province Committee secretary. The participants included the Province Committee members Boleslaw Sulkowski, Zdzislaw Kobylecki, Marian Winiarski, Danuta Szkola-Zawadzka, Czeslaw Bednarski, Marian Gadek, and Marian Surma, as well as the invited guests Mieczyslaw Gutkowski, director of the Kielce PKS [State Motor Transport], Andrzej Kozera (Zlota Pinczowska), Marcin Parka (Gnojno), Kazimierz Winiarczyk (Wachock) and Marian Zebala (Kielce).

The principal attention was devoted to the quality of the cadres in the national economy. Cadre policies must be based on meshing three criteria for evaluating individuals: professional training, managerial abilities and ideological and moral qualifications. The opinions and evaluations of the community from which derives a candidate for a managerial position should be more extensively considered. Managerial abilities are not so much due to talent and innate capacities as to experience gained by the candidate while still a member of a youth organization.

Much bitterness was voiced concerning ambiguous and two-faced attitudes. Ultimately, it was said, such expressions as "barring the way" or "standing aside" did not come ready-made but characterize the particular behavior of particular individual. Keeping such individuals in managerial posts--regardless of the level--merely harms the party, which is responsible for the whole of personnel policies.

Mention was made of the monitoring functions of representative and party collegial bodies with respect to persons exercising managerial functions. This is the most effective instrument of cadre policy. Unfortunately we still have not worked out together with the allied parties [the ZSL and the SD], a model for implementing cadre policies. But it is good that we speak of it more and more often.

The party, the allied parties, the managerial personnel of plants and the public organizations face the urgent task of working out a system of incentives for good work in which earnings would not be the sole and exclusive motive.

The discussion resulted in the following recommendations:

--Demands should be made to hasten the work on drafting the principles of cadre policy;

--It is absolutely necessary to update certain provisions of the labor law code which prevent individualizing the methods of personnel management;

--It should become a universally mandatory principle to regularly assess, analyze and monitor cadres at every level of state and economic life;

—Party organizations should establish a climate of good cooperation with the newly formed trade unions and worker self-governments as well as with socio-occupational and scientific-technical organizations, especially as regards the shaping of working conditions, an atmosphere of good work and an economical approach to problems of production as well as respect for the property of the enterprises and a steady increase in production. [Written by (bem)]

#### **What They Can Do and What They Are Doing**

The following participated in discussion within the group on problems of industry: Zdzislaw Banasik, BIALOGON Kielce Pump Factory; Zbigniew Sobczyk, PIHZ [Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade]; Wieslaw Banach, Truck Plant; Tadeusz Kucharzyk and Wieslaw Pankowski, CHEMAR; Jerzy Boron, POLMO-SHI Specialized Car Factory [FSS]; Wieslaw Partak, Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]; Zdzislaw Popielnicki, Finance Department of the Province Office; Jerzy Jaworski, Truck Plant; Wieslaw Bielas, Starachowice; and Stanislaw Ferenc, Woodworking Plants in Starachowice.

Most other participants in the discussion were directors of industrial enterprises. They proposed to answer the questions of why the application of the economic reform has not resulted in a lessening of difficulties to industry, production potential is being minimally utilized and prices are rising fearsomely.

All purchasers at present are sharply criticizing contract prices but, on the other hand, nearly no producer wants regulated prices and prefers to determine them himself. For then he is enabled to obtain the funds needed for, say, appropriate wages. A director who at present is not seeking to raise wages is--as some speakers declared--regarded by the work force as a poor boss. And the chase for profits--the frequent inclusion in price of various unjustified costs and surcharges--is not unjustifiably termed market robbery. This must be changed, but how? As known, profits should be determined to meet the interests of society as a whole.

The directors declared that in many of our factories production capacity is not being utilized because too many skilled workers have suddenly and unexpectedly chosen early retirement and a growing number of experts leaves for work abroad. Convertible currency is a tremendous temptation. To compound the evil, the current wage policy continues to be faulty. People willingly leave key industries for work in small industry and handicrafts.

The province's industry must produce more for export. But there is still no public acceptance of this goal, so important to the country. Foreign trade is regarded as a way of impoverishing the market. The need to provide, within the framework of the economic reform, greater incentives for the expansion of exports was mentioned.

In the factories the lack of adequate equipment makes itself felt. In the past, in the pursuit of increase in production the facilities of tool shops were reduced

as was the size of repair teams. Now we lack personnel for the manufacture of precision tools and the conduct of needed repair. It is urgently necessary to reconstruct the entire technological back-up of the Truck Plant, the POLMO-SHL and other plants. Under the conditions of the economic reform, such measures should be supported by tax relief, as otherwise there would be no funds available. Unfortunately, nothing is being said of it. On the contrary--tax relief is to be instead granted for increasing output at any price.

According to the director of the Truck Plant, next year his plant, the largest in the province, will be able to operate at only 70 percent of capacity, but the gasoline engines in the Star trucks it manufactures will be replaced with turbocharged engines, which is of tremendous importance to the economy. Major changes will occur in the structure of employment, and the new wage system will favor markedly workers directly employed in production.

#### In Construction--Considerable Difficulties and Considerable Potential

The housing situation in the Kielce Province is among the most difficult in the country. More than 50 percent of the applicants coming to city and gmina offices are persons looking for help to solve housing problems. The following members of the team on construction problem took part in the discussions: Jerzy Lychowski, Province Construction Board; Zbigniew Nowak, Deputy Governor; Mieczyslaw Ociepa, BUDOPOL Construction Enterprise; Mieczyslaw Pikulski, Pinczow Repair and Construction Plant; Zdzislaw Kalemba, Urban Construction Combine; Hubert Staszewski, Province Union of Housing Cooperatives; Stefan Pazdzior, Pinczow Agricultural Construction Enterprise; Witold Matysik, Marywil Stone Building Plant (ZWK), Suchedziow; and Kazimierz Brzezinski, Province Board for the Expansion of Cities and Settlements.

The discussion centered on the need to link the financial performance of construction enterprises to their material effects; the causes of the abrupt decline in labor productivity on construction sites; the incomplete utilization of worktime; the waste of certain building materials; and inadequate quality of the completed housing.

It was found that no radical improvement in the housing situation of the province can be expected unless outlays on developing the infrastructure and communal economy are increased. In the opinion of the discussants, the change in the profile of construction and the suspension of industrial construction projects have been significant factors in the decrease in the output of construction combines and enterprises. A major and urgent problem is elevating the importance of building inspections. It sometimes happens that buildings released for occupancy are rejected by investors owing to lack of infrastructure. The scarcity of the outlays and funds available to the Kielce Province for this purpose has compounded the already considerable lag in this respect. In effect, the lack of building lots for new housing projects has become a major obstacle and barrier. It is difficult to expect any radical improvements in this situation in the near future. Delays in acquiring building lots and land titles for large-panel construction still continue. [Article by (bis)]

## How to Enrich the Market?

During the discussion within the group on trade, small industry and services, the following voiced comments: Zdzislaw Brzezinski, Bieliny; Bogdan Curylo, State Machine Station POM in Brzez; Mieczyslaw Mierzynski, Voivodship Union of Savings and Loans Cooperatives WSOP; Barbara Chobian, League of Women; Czeslaw Dlugosz, "Czestocice" Sugar Factory in Ostrowiec; Zygmunt Palacha, Poultry Works; Feliks Kwiatkowski, District Enterprise of Meat Industry; Artur Lipinski, FOSKO Footwear Plants in Skarzysko; Stanislaw Karpinski, Nowa Slupia; Jan Pawlikowski, Lagow; Konstanty Gulinski, Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise WPHW; Teresa Gorzynska, SPOLEM Voivodship Consumer Cooperatives' Union WSS; Jerzy Szymanski, SPOLEM Production Works; and Zenon Sipa, REKORD Knitwear Goods Plant ZPD in Jedrzejow.

Food trade cannot cope with all the requirements of the reform, because it will not close unprofitable branch and settlement stores, and neither will it cease to produce fast foods in view of the social harm this might cause. How then can self-financing be considered? How can small processing plants, food plants and trade facilities be expanded considering that the tax system discourages investments? Conclusion: the food industry should be provided with tax relief.

Another issue: why are goods produced from state-owned raw materials permitted to be sold under private marque? They would be much more expensive than when sold by socialized trade. It also happens that materials manufactured in factories are obtained in large quantities by private producers but cannot be acquired by, e.g. cooperatives.

Anomalies in foreign trade also were pointed out. Processed poultry is being imported instead of feed for chickens, although the availability of such feed would make it possible to obtain more meat and eggs.

Foreign trade centers cannot manage to sell down for foreign exchange, and yet this could be a profitable business. Were the poultry factories to have a chance to attend to exporting on their own, such exports could be expanded. Then also there are signs that production for the domestic market is becoming more profitable than for foreign customers: this does not promote exports.

Many speakers commented on the still poor services to agriculture. This concerns a stable procurement price policy with the object of putting an end to the vacillations in the profitability of grain growing and hog raising. Unplanned interventions merely produce chaos. Priority should be given to the expansion of processing facilities so as not to waste the harvested crops--mention was made of, among other things, the refrigerated warehouse that is to be built in the Poultry Works in Diminy. A common grievance is the poor supplies of rubber footwear, artificial fertilizers and insecticides to the countryside. [Article by (KRA)]

## Let us Support Honest Knowledge With Party-Minded Consciousness

The deliberations of the team discussing the role of party organizations in the introduction of the economic reform were chaired by Eugeniusz Cichon, PZPR Province Committee secretary. The participants were: Czeslaw Doroz, Kije Gmina;

Waldemar Kowalski, Ostrowiec; Stanislaw Zalewski, Iron Foundry in Charsznica; Wladyslaw Kmitowski, Swietokrzyska Polytechnic; Andrzej Jagiela, ZEBIEC Mining-Metal Plant; Ryszard Sroka, Boiler Works in Stalowa Wola; Henryk Czajkowski, vice chairman of the Province People's Council; Leonard Sowinski, Kielce PKP /Polish State Railroads/ Hub; Wladyslaw Janowski, senior inspector at the Economics Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Marian Czaja, Nowy Korczyn; and Zenona Kuranda, deputy to the PRL Diet from Busko. Their comments demonstrated the great interest of party organizations and echelons in problems of the economic reform. It was stated that the knowledge of many PZPR members about the mechanisms and principles of the reform being introduced is unsatisfactory. Good, thorough knowledge and complete information about the reform is needed for party members so that they could shape specific opinions and views of their comrades and eliminate any defects in this respect, etc. observed in plants and shops.

The role exercised by party organizations in the trade unions and self-governments now being established was critically discussed. The activities of party members in such important bodies as the self-governments /of workers/ still often are too sporadic in nature, and yet what matters is that every representative of the PZPR in a trade union or self-government be an initiator and propagator of the party's tasks and resolutions. As stated by one comrade, e.g. within the PKP, owing to the poor organizational structure of the party there, party elements and echelons produce no great influence on the process of the formation of self-governments and the reforming of the management.

The role of the party organizations in the introduction of the economic reform could be much more visible if every member and candidate member of the PZPR would carry out specific individual tasks. Party echelons and authorities must consistently supervise and monitor the implementation of these tasks.

The question of how should the party monitor the process of the economic reform is an old one. The discussants stressed that the party's role should consist in eliminating mistakes and inaccuracies from this difficult process and protecting the interests of the working people. The POP /basic party organizations/ and OOP /branch party organizations/ could do so by having their members participate in the activities of, e.g. trade unions, self-governments, and cost and price commissions. Participation in the work of these bodies should be based on a high party-minded consciousness distinguished by differentiating between the long-range tasks and goals of the party and particular desires of specific groups of people. It was stated in the discussion that the party's strength derives from the force of its arguments, its ability to convince.

Much attention was also paid to the party's role in the already reformed economy. This has not previously been discussed, and yet the related tasks should be worked out and considered even now.

Problems of strengthening and, in many communities, rebuilding the worker-peasant alliance were considered. To the party a permanent worker-peasant alliance is a factor decisive to the success of the reform. Article by .../illegible/.

Yesterday the Executive Board of the Province Committee also listened to reports on the steps being taken by the youth movement to activize cultural life in town and country. For the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum provide that youth should become the co-owner of clubs, reading rooms and houses of culture. It is also to develop on its own a public cultural movement and inspire and propagate that movement by providing the conditions for recreation, entertainment and self-education. A great deal of neglect has accumulated in this field. To surmount it, according to the Executive Board, priority should be given to utilizing the available cultural facilities, which after all are substantial in this province, and combining the efforts of many institutions while at the same time also relying on funds from the state, so as to improve the quality of performance of the cultural centers. The youth, and especially its organizations, should bear in mind, however, that essentially the key to the activization of cultural life rests in their hands.

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CSO: 2600/240

Executive Board on Cultural Life

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 8 Dec 82 p 2

/Unsigned article: "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: Implementation of Resolutions of the 7th Central Committee Plenum; Activization of Cultural Life"

[Text] During its meeting yesterday the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee assessed the implementation of the resolution of the 7th Central Committee Plenum as exemplified by party work at selected plants in Ostrow Swietokrzyski. The main tasks ensuing from that resolution include: strengthening the bonds between the party and the working class; the struggle for ideological, political and organizational unity of the party; and the creation of conditions for building a national agreement.

Studies conducted in Ostrowiec warrant stating that the local party organizations have mostly, and chiefly at the principal plant in that city, the Iron and Steel Plant imienia Nowotka, approached their tasks intently, as reflected in not only the drafting but also the consistent implementation of an appropriate program of action. The executive boards of the city and plant party committees and the secretaries of these echelons met with working people directly in the departments, participated in many discussions and consultations and held individual talks. This work resulted in the emergence of a sizable group of party aktiv among workers, which participated in many social inspections and various activities in behalf of the city.

In Ostrowiec, as found by the Executive Board, much was done to purge the party ranks of accidental people. Among other things, the attitudes of all members of party echelons were vetted, and about 15 or so were discharged from membership in them. This served to strengthen markedly the discipline and aggressiveness of party action. A substantial role in rebuilding the party's authority was played by its rapid response to the grievances and suggestions of the city's inhabitants concerning the proper functioning of trade, public transit and administration. All this has provided favorable conditions for establishing citizens' committees for national rebirth which, through their work in the plants, have begun to clear the road for the national understanding and calm emotions and reduce agitation, which has not been in short supply in Ostrowiec.

Of course, party work also displays many shortcomings, not only in Ostrowiec but elsewhere, as observed by the Executive Board of the Province Committee. Not all party organizations and groups as yet display a proper level of activity, and we still encounter instances of formalist approach to many problems and questions. In this connection, the Executive Board recommended that, in the course of perfecting their own performance, party organizations and echelons adhere to the resolutions of the 7th Central Committee Plenum and analyze their own performance in implementing these resolutions. This should contribute to improving the performance of all party organizations and echelons in behalf of civic action within the elements of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], trade unions and worker self-governments.

KOSZALIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Preparation for Provincial Plenum

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 15 Nov 82 p 3

/Article by (W. N.): "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee in Koszalin: Development of PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ Structures; Functioning of Trade; Preparations for Province Committee Plenum"/

/Text/ Last Friday the Executive Board of the Province party committee in Koszalin held a meeting under the chairmanship of first secretary of the Province Committee, Eugeniusz Jakubaszek. Reports on the state and development prospects of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the Koszalin Province were presented. The Movement currently comprises 377 citizens' committees for national rebirth, of which 6 city, 10 city-gmina, 19 gmina, 2 settlement, 176 plant and 119 rural committees. Thus, citizens' committees for national rebirth now operate in all cities and city-gminas and nearly all gminas, and expand their activities. In this connection, as emphasized at the session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, this development is not uniform in discrete cities and city-gminas. For example, in Kolobrzeg there now operate 31 OKONs [citizens' committees for national rebirth]; in Koszalin, 17; in Szczecinek, 7; in the city and gmina of Bialy Bor, 28; in Zlocieniec 20; but in Polanow, Malechow, Silnow or Ustron Morsk only one OKON operates apiece.

The members of the Executive Board of the Province Committee as well as Jozef Kielb, chairman of the Provisional PRON Province Council, who participated in the discussion, devoted much of their comments to specific accomplishments of the PRON. This movement is steadily growing and its members have shown full conviction and commitment in joining the town and rural OKONs [citizens' committees for national rebirth]. It was emphasized that it is necessary to expand activities intended to mobilize for this social movement a still greater number of non-party members, especially including young people and women. This concerns primarily the OKONs in production plants and villages and on state farms.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee drafted recommendations to further activize the party organizations as regards recruiting the inhabitants of the towns and villages of the Koszalin Province for membership in the PRON. There is a need for public activists. The members of the Provisional Province

Council of the PRON as well as the founding organizations, which include the PZPR, ZSL /United Peasants Party/ and SD /Democratic Party/ province committees, should maintain regular contact with local branches of the movement for national rebirth. The PRON, and especially its city and plant elements, can assist considerably in the establishment of the new trade unions, as exemplified by what is happening at many enterprises of the Koszalin Province. For this represents activities in behalf of the national agreement and the consolidation of the work-forces. Also in the offing are meetings between the province's political and administrative leadership and the work-forces in plants and specific communities on the subject of the movement for national rebirth. During the current reporting drive in party organizations, too, more attention should be paid to this social movement, on assessing the implementation of the related tasks by PZPR members.

During its further deliberations the Executive Board of the Province Committee, by then chaired by Zbigniew Krenz, Province Committee secretary, examined the report from the Province Office and the comments of the staff group of the Commission for Socio-Economic Policies under the PZPR Province Committee concerning the operations of the domestic market in the Koszalin Province.

The discussion concerned the defects and shortcomings of commerce in Koszalin. Extremely critical comments were addressed to the institutions and organizations responsible for food supplies, especially for supplies of vegetables and fruits, as well as for manufactured consumer goods (footwear, hosiery, etc.). The Executive Board of the Province Committee stressed that regulated prices should be extended to more consumer goods with the object of protecting the consumer, and more attention should be given to the supply of staple foodstuffs to plant stores and the proper functioning of these stores. The Executive Board of the Province Committee placed the Province Office under the obligation of immediately solving the problem of footwear supplies for children and school youth (this concerns chiefly footwear for children upward of 10 years old). A more just distribution (among discrete cities and villages) of such goods in demand as "rajstopy," hosiery and underwear also is needed. In this connection, hoarding of these goods for speculative purposes should be counteracted.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee also examined the preparations for the plenary session of the party's Province Committee. That session will deal with the housing construction in the province and will be held next Thursday--18 November [1982].

Toward the end of the meeting Zbigniew Krenz, Province Committee secretary, reported on the socio-political situation within the province in recent days, including 10 November. All workplaces have been operating normally and many of them exceeded their daily production targets. During these days the working people of the Koszalin Province have been displaying common sense and a feeling of responsibility. For this, the Executive Board of the Province Committee expressed to them its acknowledgment and thanks.

Plenum on Residential Needs

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 19-20-21 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

/Article by Jerzy Lesiak and Jozef Narkowicz: "The Party's Activities in Behalf of Meeting the Most Urgent Housing Needs: Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee in Koszalin"/

[Text] / (Own information.) Yesterday 18 Nov 82 the PZPR Province Committee examined during its plenary session a program for meeting the most urgent housing needs in the Koszalin Province during the 1983-1985 period and until 1990. The province party echelon adopted the program drafted by the Province Office and outlined the tasks of party echelons and organizations in this field. / printed in boldface /

The deliberations were chaired by Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, first secretary of the Province Committee. The participants included: Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Department under the Central Committee, representatives of the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials, the Ministry of the Local Economy and Environmental Protection, and the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers; Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz, the Koszalin province governor; Stanislaw Szala, chairman of the Province People's Council; and invited economic activists, including 25 workers.

Earlier, members of the Province Committee and invited guests were provided with extensive analytic materials prepared by the Province Office in Koszalin. These materials had been subjected to public consultation in certain cities and work establishments. Reports for discussion were presented by Zdzislaw Chmielewski, Province Committee Secretary, and Jacek Czayka, Koszalin Vice Governor.

Zdzislaw Chmielewski, Province Committee secretary, declared that, among other things, an improvement in the housing situation--in addition to the development of agriculture and improvements in food supply--is a basic aim of socio-economic policy. To this aim should be subordinated all the forces and resources made available in this field to state and economic administration.

As drafted by the Province Office, the program for housing construction in the province during the 1983-1985 period and until 1990 was prepared upon broad consultation and on the basis of a thorough survey of needs. The program's targets should be regarded as minimal and as the basis for specifying further and more comprehensive targets.

The province's housing cooperatives at present have registered more than 10,000 members awaiting apartments plus 20,000 candidates. Of this total, more than 1,100 people have been awaiting housing for more than 10 years, and over 2,000 are currently living in very poor housing. In addition to the cooperative dwellings there is a need for more than 2,000 communal dwellings by the year 1985 and as many more during the 1986-1990 period. Rural housing needs in the Koszalin Province also are very large.

After that the Province Committee secretary extensively discussed the conditions decisive to implementing the program, particularly the preparation of developed building lots for multi-family housing and the construction of the necessary communal infrastructure in the cities. The available developed building lots for multi-family housing in the Koszalin Province will barely suffice until 1985. There are years of neglect to repair as regards the construction of heating plants, drinking-water intakes, sewage treatment plants, drains, etc.

The Koszalin Province has extensive general construction capacities but lacks sufficient special-purpose construction enterprises for building boiler plants, water-intake installations, sewage treatment plants, etc. The general construction enterprises have not sufficiently developed their capacities for finishing operations. These disproportions should be eliminated. The mechanisms of the economic reform offer favorable conditions for this purpose.

A prerequisite for the expansion of construction is increasing the production of building materials from local raw materials. State enterprises, cooperatives and artisan works are expected to display greater initiative in this field.

The basic party organizations in construction enterprises and allied enterprises should consistently create among the work-forces a climate of good work and co-responsibility for the fulfillment of such a huge and socially urgent task as housing construction. Party organizations should initiate the complete utilization of production potential and consistently combat waste and poor organization of labor.

In many housing projects built in recent years the construction of schools, preschools, trade and service stores and public health centers has been neglected. This backlog too should be rapidly done away with.

Zdzislaw Chmielewski emphasized that, in addition to multi-family housing construction, we must develop single-family housing. The program provides for building about 9,000 single-family houses by 1990. To this end it is necessary to secure building lots, building materials and adequate financial assistance from the state in the form of loans, especially for newlyweds.

In single-family housing construction every initiative should be supported, especially that coming from young people who organize their own small housing cooperatives and associations. We place the basic party organizations and all party members under the obligation of supporting single-family housing construction, providing inspiration in this respect, and providing the largest possible financial and material and equipment assistance through the mediation of work establishments.

Special attention must be given to multi- and single-family housing construction in the countryside. This is an important factor in keeping young people on the land. The insufficient development of rural housing construction has caused rural youth people to emigrate to the cities where they account for longer lines of applicants for housing. At present, rural population accounts for more than 40 percent of members and candidate members of housing cooperatives awaiting the allotment of housing in several towns and cities.

New housing construction must be accompanied by the repair and modernization of old housing. This concerns especially the dwellings built before 1950. Quite often, repair enterprises execute investments more advantageous to them instead of performing repair work. This should be energetically counteracted.

The program for housing construction in the Koszalin Province, as presented to the plenum, specifies realistic tasks. The implementation of that program will not meet all the needs but it will meet the most urgent needs.

Today it is not enough to wait until the authorities hand to every needy applicant keys to the apartment, as stressed in conclusion by the Province Committee secretary. We must create a broad front of men of goodwill who want to build on their own, and help others in this as well. Today we pose to the party organizations and echelons the task of creating such a front.

Vice Governor Jacek Czayka devoted his address to technical and organizational conditions for implementing the urban and rural housing program. A factor decisive to the scope of housing construction is primarily the state of the technical infrastructure in cities. He deplored the disastrous state of the development of building lots for housing construction. As early as since 1976 the outlays on the communal economy had been low, not exceeding 600 million zlotys annually. Similarly, the funds allotted for the expansion of communal facilities until 1985 meet only one-third of the needs and merely serve to continue--although on the basis of a protracted schedule--the existing projects, such as the water supply systems for Szczecinek and Koszalin and the boiler plant in Darlow.

Only beginning in 1986 it will be possible to expand markedly the construction of communal facilities, this being a prerequisite for the growth of housing construction. For these reasons, in the 1980s housing demand in the Koszalin Province will remain largely unsatisfied. Only after 1990 will there arise the conditions for satisfying the public expectations.

J. Czayka emphasized that the program for housing construction under consideration is modest but workable and realistic, thus differing from earlier plans which had often been lists of wishes. In the next 3 years 8,800 dwellings will have been built and during the subsequent five-year plan period, 20,000 dwellings. There many reasons why housing construction can be markedly expanded, particularly as regards rarefied build-up and single-family housing. The Province Office has designated land in the environs of cities, especially smaller cities, for scattered and single-family housing. It envisages suburban building lots measuring even 1,000 to 1,500 sq m in area.

Next, J. Czayka presented a list of measures by the authorities which should alleviate the tortuous path toward an apartment of one's own. Dwelling on the construction of housing projects by industrialized techniques, he pointed to the recent decline in the social prestige of construction workers. He indicated ways and means of elevating that prestige.

The first to raise his voice in the discussion was Maciej Krzywicki, deputy director of the TELKOM-TELCZA Plant in Czaplinek. He stated that only a coherent program allowing for all elements of construction can be realistic. In Czaplinek plans and programs for housing build-up are not being implemented, with the construction proceeding in an unplanned manner in many cases. This produces numerous

adverse consequences. For example, several boiler works have been built and continue to be built within a radius of 500 meters. The housing project for state-farm and forestry employees in the town is being expanded. Persons residing in that project have to commute many kilometers to work. It would be better to build housing for them near the places where they work--agricultural plants and forestry districts. In smaller cities, especially, single-family housing construction should predominate. Appropriate tax relief should be provided for the work establishments which assist their employees in building single-family houses. Single-family housing construction should utilize timber which is literally rotting in vast quantities in the province's forests. The speaker emphasized that the program for housing construction in the province should be implemented with a rigorous consistency. Housing is a fundamental social problem.

Alicja Mazurek, a physician from the Spa in Kolobrzeg, stated that the construction of a sewage treatment plant and improvements in water supply are necessary to the survival of that city. Unless the needed investments are made, Kolobrzeg will cease to be a spa and the "pearl" of the Baltic. Help from central authorities is needed. An urgent problem in the province is the construction of hospitals, especially the hospital in Koszalin, which simply cannot be postponed to the distant future. Alicja Mazurek pointed out that certain vacation homes for branch employees are being built profligately, furnished with expensive mosaics, water fountains, comfortable apartments, etc. We cannot afford it! Housing design should also make allowances for the needs of the disabled, for whom buildings with special accommodations have to be prepared. Housing should please people instead of causing them problems as is happening for example with buildings erected from fungus-covered and humid WK-70 type panels. Why has precisely this type of construction been accepted for many years?

Jan Wojcik, chairman of the Inter-Plant Administration of Cooperative Help Association in Single-Family Housing in Szczecinek, reported that the construction of a community of about 100 single-family houses in that city will be shortened by 1.5 years. He dwelled chiefly in his speech on single-family housing construction. He stated the need for urgently expediting the definition of the new principles for loans for this type of housing. People are waiting. The delays in the determination of these principles have led to the suspension of the building of many such houses. He offered many proposals concerning expert assistance for small housing construction cooperatives and associations. He stressed that necessary measures should be taken to reduce building costs which currently are definitely too high.

Henryk Mach, chairman of the Board of the Koszalin Affiliate of the Polish Union of Construction Engineers and Technicians, offered, in behalf of the technical societies linked with construction, many detailed proposals and ideas for streamlining the organization of housing construction and the production of building materials. He declared that, among other things, the further intensification of multi-family housing construction in Koszalin endangers markedly the efficiency of the overloaded utility infrastructure. Similarly, single-family housing construction on the outskirts of Koszalin is a great risk to the city. The province program for construction should be regarded as a guideline for specific plans. In behalf of technical-scientific societies, he offered full assistance in implementing that program.

Maciej Jablonowski, chairman of the Province Party Control Commission, declared that, among other things, construction has become beset by many negative phenomena. People are upset by new vacant apartment buildings which cannot be inhabited owing to major defects in their construction. This waste is exemplified by the rotation building in Koszalin, which was found to contain more than 300 defects. The contractor, the Koszalin State Industrial Construction Enterprise /KPBP/ was to be given 80 dwellings for its employees in that building. If that is how the construction industry builds for its own people, how does it build for others? What steps have been taken by the party organization at that enterprise to streamline the work?

The participants in the investment process often blame each other and engage in mutual recrimination about defects and delays. There is no coordination of activities, and instances of failure to fulfill tasks and duties are frequent.

Our goal should be that everyone on whom the performance of construction depends would perform his duties conscientiously and properly. The Province Party Control Commission will demand this consistently of the party members employed in construction.

Next, Maciej Jablonowski extensively discussed the problems of environmental protection. He stated that we must be fully aware that unless we speed up the construction of a sewage treatment plant, the losses will become irreversible. A special danger to the environment is arising in the coastal belt. Given the current situation, the continued construction of resorts in that zone cannot be allowed. Many resolutions have been adopted concerning environmental protection, but they are being implemented only minimally. Maciej Jablonowski offered, among other things, a recommendation that the party organizations at construction enterprises consistently evaluate the occupational performance of their members with special allowance for the quality and promptness of the tasks performed and the implementation of party resolutions and decisions of the authorities.

Andrzej Hybki, Province Committee member and deputy director of the PREFABET Concrete Industry Enterprise in Kalisz Pomorski, focused on the problems of private housing construction. He stated the need to lower the interest rates charged on bank loans and reduce the cost--now reaching 30,000 zlotys--of mortgage insurance. He pointed to the possibility of reducing the cost of such construction through a more frequent use of lumber as a building material. This concerns utilizing the timber resources that are decaying in forests or are being used as firewood. Expressing the opinion of the inhabitants of Kalisz Pomorski, he asked for supplying that city with natural gas even before 1985.

Edward Jablonski, Province Committee member and brigade leader at the POJEZIERZE Construction Enterprise in Szczecinek, shared the experience in party work among construction workers. The attitude of the work force enabled the enterprise to release for occupancy this year over 100 dwellings in excess of the plan.

Piotr Wierejko, Province Committee member and secretary of the city party committee in Kolobrzeg, praised the program under consideration and asked for expediting the implementation of construction targets in Kolobrzeg. In his opinion,

the construction of the sewage treatment plant in Kolobrzeg should be treated as a central rather than regional project. Without that plant Kolobrzeg will lose its function as a major spa and vacation resort used by several million people each year.

Witold Skawinski, member of the Executive Board of the Central Committee and deputy director of the Bureau of Urbanistic and Communal Projects in Koszalin, dwelled on factors accelerating housing construction that require only organizational changes. When approving area build-up plans certain binding agreements should be made to be used as the basis for issuing specific siting decisions. Until now, siting decisions must be preceded by bindings agreements separate from those made when approving the build-up plans. He also drew attention to the permanent utilization of the pavillions and warehouses erected by construction workers to facilitate construction. They could be used as social and cultural facilities. He proposed a broad and specific popularization--in this newspaper as well--of local building materials.

Krzysztof Krzewski, Province Committee member and an engineer at the Bureau of Rural Construction Designs in Koszalin, dealt in his comments chiefly with local building materials (clay, dusts, aggregate). He pointed to the higher prices offered by construction enterprises. He argued that a cost reduction would serve to build much more with the resources at hand.

Hipolit Stanczak, first secretary of the basic party organization at the TRANSBUD Construction-Equipment Enterprise Transport in Koszalin, described the ways, employed in his enterprise, of overcoming difficulties. The attitude and efforts of the work-force enable the TRANSBUD to meet the transport needs of construction. As a member of a small housing cooperative in Mielno, he criticized the JUTRZENKA Cooperative in Koszalin which is tardy in settling formal-legal matters.

Jozef Kielb, Central Committee member and journalist at CHLOPSKA DROGA, criticized the program for housing construction under consideration. In his opinion, the authors of that plan disregarded most of the problems of rural construction, being in the thrall of the myth of urbanization. He further stated that this mind-set does not help stop migration from the countryside.

Janusz Wojtych, chairman of the Province Union of Housing Cooperatives in Koszalin, at first engaged in polemics with some of the conclusions of the preceding speaker. Next, he focused on problems of the province seat, in which one-half of all applicants registered in the cooperatives of the entire province are awaiting housing. He argued that the most important matter is the construction of a drainage system in Koszalin. This project is essential to any major increase in construction in the province seat.

Next, he described the considerable advances made in the development of small housing cooperatives and associations for building single-family houses in the Koszalin Province. In 1982 there already arose 33 organizations of this type, building 1,700 dwellings. Many additional associations and cooperatives are as yet in the formative stage.

Benedykt Cembrowski, first secretary of the City and Gmina party committee in Darlow, described the particularly difficult housing situation in that coastal town. The scope of housing construction there so far has been extremely small. The problem is compounded by years of neglect in repairing Darlow's old buildings. He pointed out that the number of retired and pensioned farmers in the countryside is increasing. These people, as a rule, do not repair the building they occupy.

Ryszard Glodowski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Koszalin State Industrial Construction Enterprise, discussed the difficulties encountered by this specialized enterprise. It is experiencing a particularly acute shortage of skilled workers. He also described the steps being taken by the party organization to streamline the organization of labor and increase the responsibility of party members for the tasks fulfilled. He asked that investment outlays be concentrated on installing the utility infrastructure most needed in the cities, this being a prerequisite to the development of housing construction.

Franciszek Kosciukiewicz, chief power engineer at the TELKOM-TELCZA Telecommunications-Power Supply Equipment Works in Czaplinek, discussed the need to intensify prospecting for natural gas in Central Pomerania and the possibilities for utilizing this fuel in the communal economy. He stressed that the provision of better living conditions for the rural and small-town population will curtail its migration to larger cities, which will contribute to alleviating their housing shortages.

The next in turn to speak was Wladyslaw Korzeniowski, director of the Investment Team at the Central Administration of Residential Construction [CZBM]. He stressed that the deliberations of the plenum of the PZPR Province Committee in Koszalin concerning housing construction will help the Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union [CZSBM] determine more precisely the directions of its action. He commented that the need to develop rural housing construction should in no case outweigh the need to further expand cities. He also described the steps being taken by the SZSBM [Independent Housing Construction Cooperative Union?] to develop single-family housing construction and eliminate the disproportions between the construction of housing projects and that of their requisite infrastructure.

Waclaw Kulczynski, deputy director of the Economic Department under the PZPR Central Committee, emphasized that the development of housing construction in this country is closely linked to surmounting the crisis, increase in gross national product and national income and preservation of law and order. The goal posed is to build at least 300,000 dwellings annually after 1985 in the country as a whole, and after 1990 400,000. For comparison, in 1978, the best year for construction, 280,000 dwellings were built. The achievement of these aims should markedly alleviate the housing problem. Next, Waclaw Kulczynski broadly discussed certain legislation being prepared with the object of promoting the growth of, especially, private construction. The problem of promoting private construction at state agricultural enterprises is being considered. A coherent system of legislative provisions is being drafted. A program for gradual changes in construction technology and abandonment of large-panel construction also is being prepared. The necessary efforts are being made to increase the output of small-sized construction components, including bricks. He stated that he believes in the validity of the desiderata that centrally allocated funds should be used to finance the necessary communal facilities, and primarily sewage treatment plants in vacation resorts on the Koszalin coast which are used by the entire Poland. He proposed that the pro-

vince program for developing housing construction be complemented with detailed programs for the development of construction enterprises as an appendix.

The Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee adopted a resolution concerning the tasks of party organizations and echelons to develop housing construction in the province during the years 1983-1985 and until 1990, on accepting the basic assumptions of the program drafted by the Province Office.

The Plenum of the PZPR Province Committee adopted a program of action intended to implement the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee. It further appointed the Maritime Commission of the Province Committee, confirmed the composition of the Program Council of GLOS POMORZA (formed jointly by the province committees in Koszalin and Slupsk) and made four changes in the composition of the Province Committee. On the initiative of the city-gmina branch of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy ZBoWiD in Swidwina, the participants in the Plenum adopted a resolution to erect--through public effort--a memorial honoring the deed of the military settler.

#### Preparation for Provincial Reports Conference

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 30 Nov 82 p 2

/Article by (A. Cz.): "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Koszalin Province Committee: New Councilors Elected; First Trade-Union Organizations; Preparations for the Province Reports Conference"/

/Text/ / (Own information.) Yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, chaired by Z. Chmielewski, Province Committee secretary, discussed the course of the elections of councilors and collegium members for handling transgressions in the province. / /printed in boldface/

At numerous meetings in work establishments and villages the incumbent councilors and collegium members informed the public about their activities in courts and collegiums for transgressions and listened to proposals and critical comments on negative social phenomena which--in the opinion of their constituents--should be considered by these institutions during the coming period. Thus, more severe and resolute penal repressions were demanded for criminal speculation and embezzlement, and the need for a more energetic handling of parasitism and shirking from work was mentioned. Interest was also shown in many other social-legal problems and comments and suggestions for their solution were made.

In a large part of the plants and in many villages the interest in the elections of councilors and collegium members was considerable, although instances of poor attendance of meetings also were observed. The candidates for councilors and collegium members who emerged during this campaign represent every social milieu and the principal occupational-professional groups, and they include members of the party and allied parties as well as of youth and public organizations. The proportion of non-party members is large. Their final election to these important social duties was performed at sessions of the people's councils.

The session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee yesterday also discussed the reports on the establishment of trade unions in the province. At

several hundred plants there operate groups initiating the formation of trade unions, and so far more than 30 applications for registration have been submitted to the courts and 21 approved.

The process of the formation of trade unions at the province's plants does not follow a straight and simple path; side by side with activism and support for founding initiatives, reluctant opinions are encountered, and sometimes these opinions are presented from positions alien and hostile to socialism. What matters is to convince, patiently and not only by words but above all by deeds, all those who wait or are undecided, about the sense of and need for joint action by the work forces through their trade unions. The session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee stressed yet again that the situation in this respect hinges primarily on the people--the work-forces, their wisdom and their understanding of the need for the existence of genuinely independent and self-governing trade unions that are co-bosses of the plants and participants in their management. The party organizations and echelons in the province will continue to support in all ways the creation of a climate favorable to the activity of precisely such trade unions.

Yesterday's session also discussed the course of the preparations for the party Province Report Conference which is scheduled for February of next year.

In addition, the Executive Board of the Province Committee adopted a concrete and detailed plan of action for implementing the resolutions of the recent plenary session of the Province Committee on building affairs.

#### Evaluation of Reports Campaign

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 29 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by (W. N.): "Evaluation of Reports Campaign Within the Party: From the Deliberations of the Koszalin Province PZPR Committee"]

[Text] / (Own information.) Yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, chaired by first secretary of the Province Committee Eugeniusz Jakubaszek, discussed the course of the reports campaign within the province party organization and the ensuing tasks. The session was also attended by the delegates of the Koszalin Province to the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. / / printed in boldface/

An evaluation of the reports-program campaign at party organizations and echelons in the Koszalin Province was presented by Zbigniew Krenz, secretary of the Province Committee. It indicates that the reports campaign was an extremely important political event and resulted in the further political and organizational consolidation of basic party organizations and local party echelons and an explicit growth in the activity of party members, including members of elective authorities. The reports campaign in the Koszalin Province party organization markedly influenced improvements in the style and content of the work of many PZPR elements and made it more aggressive at present.

As emphasized at the session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, the reports campaign within the party was organizationally well prepared. This is demonstrated by the report materials received by the delegates to city, city-gmina and gmina conferences, by the attendance at these conferences and by their course as well. In this connection, the highest attendance was recorded in Koszalin and Kolobrzeg.

The content of the reports of the first secretaries of city, city-gmina and gmina party committees and the nature of the ensuing multi-faceted discussions were also positively evaluated. Generally speaking, discussions at reports conferences (and at meetings of basic party organizations and plant party committees) focused on important political and socio-economic problems of relevance to the party, the country and the inhabitants of the province. Much attention was devoted to such issues as the assessment of the actual socio-economic situation with special allowance for local community or micro-region affairs; the party's activities, including the attitudes and commitment of PZPR members; the activities of socio-occupational groups in behalf of the national agreement; the formation of PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ structures and new trade unions; improvements in the performance of the people's councils, self-government organizations, etc.

The conferences, like the preceding meetings of party organizations, included a critical evaluation of the performance of local echelons and administration, especially local economic administration.

At the conferences a great deal of attention was devoted also--as found at the session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee--to such issues as the implementation of own resolutions and those of echelons, the vetting of persons responsible for that implementation, the inspirational and control functions of basic party organizations and echelons, and ideological work, especially party training. Many critical comments and suggestions were voiced concerning these matters and they should be utilized in the party's activity. Noteworthy also is the fact that in the course of the reports campaign the party organizations accepted 75 new candidate members of the PZPR, of whom 30 in Koszalin.

The assessment submitted to the Executive Board of the Province Committee devotes considerable space to the shortcomings revealed at reports-program conferences. Special emphasis was placed on the low participation in discussions at certain conferences of delegates from worker and peasant communities. In Bialogard, for example, not a single worker took the floor during the conference, while in Goscin, Drawsk or Zlocieniec no farmer had joined in the discussion. At the session of the Executive Board of the Province Committee it was stated that the ensuing conclusions as to party work are definite and include the need for more frequent contacts with the communities concerned, for talks and discussions, for fuller commitment of the worker and peasant members of the PZPR to daily socio-political work.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee also listened to reports on the work of the PZPR province echelon in 1982, and especially on the work of the Secretariat and problem commissions of the Province Committee.

Toward the end of the session, Province Committee secretary Eugeniusz Jakubaszek discussed the activities of the province party organization during the year now coming to its end and outlined the tasks for the nearest period of the next year. As known, early in February 1983 the reports-program conference of the PZPR Province Committee will be held. The first secretary of the Province Committee expressed his acknowledgments and thanks to all party members in the Koszalin Province for their contribution of work, commitment and devotion during the current year. This has been a difficult year, but the inhabitants of the province have been displaying calm and deliberation and working honestly to overcome the difficulties, surmount the crisis, for the sake of building the national agreement.

He also expressed his recognition and gratitude to the military, the militia, and members of the Security Service who have been loyally guarding the socialist state and our peace, tranquility and order.

On the occasion of the approaching New Year the first secretary of the Province Committee conveyed his best wishes for a successful 1983 to all party members and inhabitants of the Koszalin Province.

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POLAND

RADOM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Conditions for Implementing Construction

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 82 p 2

[Article: "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom: Conditions for Carrying Out the Voivodship Construction Program"]

[Text] In Radom Voivodship there are about 36,000 families waiting for an apartment of their own. The index of density per dwelling unit is still one of the highest in the country. In keeping with social needs, at the initiative of the voivodship party organization a program for the development of construction was drawn up. It provides for completing 800,000 square meters of housing space in 1981-1985. Everything goes to show that in 1981-1982 we will manage to complete 212,500 square meters. Is this goal realistic? Can we manage to achieve the necessary growth rate in annual results?

Yesterday the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom examined this issue. The session was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry, directors of enterprises, representatives of housing cooperatives and planning bureaus.

It was found that most of the conditions had been met for completing next year's construction plan calling for the completion of housing exceeding 162,000 square meters, but there are unfavorable forecasts for coming years. The previous course of investment preparation leaves great reservations. The documentation was very late. Up till now, for example, there are no complete drafts for developing the land for Radom Voivodship's settlements of Michalow, Wosniki, or Poludnie. This could lead to a situation where the buildings erected will not be inhabited for lack of electric power, water, or heat installations and hook-ups.

The investment process is not always preceded by the execution of all the formal-legal requirements related to the dispossession of the previous owners of the land being taken over. The absence of adequate instructions concerning the compensation due was a serious obstacle.

During the discussion there was emphasis of the need to draw up a materials balance-sheet coinciding with the construction program being planned. It is no less important to provide that section of the economy with adequate personnel, because the enterprises are indicating labor shortages of workers like bricklayers and plasterers.

The executive board pointed out the necessity of tying the housing construction program in with concepts of development of the municipal infrastructure. Immediate efforts are needed to complete work on construction of the intake at Slawno and modernization of "Polnoc", and in longer range the preparation of erection of a thermal electric plant in Radom.

The executive board recognized changes in the investment preparation process to be essential. Based on the Radom offices there are even possibilities for creating the drafts more quickly.

In weighing personnel problems, the executive board recommended that alongside the efforts to gain new employees there also be efforts to increase the interest in management of work on the building sites. It is mainly a question of making the most effective use of equipment-, machine-, and working-time. The significance of social issues was also emphasized, because the glaring shortcomings in this realm are often the reason people leave the construction industry for other sectors of the economy.

The executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee also assessed the way construction was going on the voivodship hospital in Jozefow. It was pointed out that for the effective execution of this extremely important investment it would be useful to create an independent coordinating center. It would be the task of the directorate of the center to oversee the ongoing activity of the enterprises involved. Even now efforts should be made to expand the crews of the main contractor, Kielce's BUDOPOL, and to create conditions for more comprehensive action by the engineering enterprises.

The executive board of the Party Voivodship Committee acquainted itself with an evaluation of the action related to reactivation of the employee self-governments and with information concerning the current sociopolitical situation in the voivodship.

## Reports Campaign in Party Organizations

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 82 p 2

[Article: "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom: Assessment of POM Work; Midpoint in the Reports Campaign in the Party Organizations"]

[Text] Yesterday the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom held a field trip session in Kozienice.

An assessment was made of the state machine centers [POM], and those in attendance acquainted themselves with the first effects of the economic reform in those units, the reactivation of the employee self-governments, and also the affairs of the basic party organizations [POP] and trade unions. Seven centers and a branch plant along with the Farm Mechanization Repairs Center created to render agricultural services back more than a year ago discharged the functions of coordination in the realm of repairing farm equipment. Now, with the introduction of the economic reform, this latter responsibility is often illusory. Most of the SKRs, state farms, and Agricultural Producer Cooperatives (RSP) are trying to make repairs in their own area, even on complicated machinery. The machinery does not come out well on this. Therefore the POM are looking for other work, sometimes outside the agriculture ministry, but most of them -- they are proud of this -- have decided on producing scarce farm implements and machinery. Unfortunately, because of shortages of materials the production of this machinery is small, and this also drives up costs, which are high also because of the bad employment structure; the number of white-collar employees as a share of total employees in these units exceeds 30 percent.

The executive board found that the POM are the best organized units serving agriculture. For years they have not had to change their organizational structure. This is what has made it possible for them to get a rather good start under the new conditions. There was a favorable assessment of the efforts aimed at reducing the market shortage of farm implements and machines, but attention was also given to the need for the POMs to be more aggressive in the realm of services to agriculture. It is a question here, for example, of cooperation between these units and milk cooperatives in mechanizing work with livestock.

The executive board recommended that the voivodship governor familiarize himself more precisely with matters related to the POMs' performance of services on behalf of the cooperatives of agrarian circles [SKR]. The repairs which the SKRs sometimes perform under primitive conditions using unskilled employees may appear to be less costly than those turned over to POM but in fact are not.

The voivodship committee's executive board listened to information about the reports campaign going on in the party organizations in the voivodship. Up until yesterday there had already been 22 town and gmina conferences and six plant conferences. The delegates at the conference particularly emphasized the need to upgrade the distribution of items for use in farm production and daily life as well as the need to adapt party training subject matter to the current desires of the communities.

Members of the executive board familiarized themselves with the materials being readied for the next plenum of the party voivodship committee, set for the 10th of this month, at which there will be a discussion of the party organizations' tasks implied by the resolutions of the Tenth Party Plenum.

#### Better, More Productive Work

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Better, More Productive Work a Condition to Carrying Out Important Social Goals -- Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom, Attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Secretary of the Central Committee"]

[Text] On Friday, the 10th of this month, the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom held a plenum. There was a discussion of the party organizations' tasks in carrying out the three-year socioeconomic plan of Radom Voivodship in the light of the provisions of the Tenth Party Central Committee Plenum.

The deliberations were attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Politburo member Zofia Grzyb, and Central Committee member Jan Mikulski.

Also present were Henryk Maciąg, chairman of the ZSL voivodship committee; Antoni Pracki, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party voivodship committee; Radom voivodship governor Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, and Voivodship People's Council chairman Col Edward Jedruszewski.

Also sitting in the conference hall along with the voivodship committee members and alternates were the directors of the regional party work centers, first secretaries of the town committees, town-gmina committees, and gmina committees, and the first secretaries of the plant committees and the directors and chairmen of the top units.

In calling the meeting to order, voivodship committee first secretary Bogdan Prus emphasized that this year economic problems are being considered now for the fourth time at this forum, largely because of the urgent need to get out of the economic crisis. Progress to this extent demonstrates the rebuilding of confidence in officials, of the bolstering of the party's position in society, for example, owing to the inspiration of the work

management centers [OOP], basic party organizations [POP], plant committees [KZ], and local workers' groups, which are achieving better and better results. Drastic improvement cannot be quickly achieved in our difficult situation. The economic situation in the world is very complex. Things are made more complicated for us by the various restrictions imposed on cooperation by the Reagan administration in particular, but these very facts force us incessantly to reflect on what to do and how, in order to expand favorable trends in the Polish economy, on how to prepare for carrying out tasks in 1983-1985 in order to achieve a level which will permit us to gain overall market equilibrium.

Voivodship committee secretary Wladzimier Kocinski gave the executive board address.

Fourteen comrades took the floor in the discussion. Comrade Barcikowski addressed himself to the problems raised. By way of introduction the central committee secretary stated that today's plenum -- to be more exact, the statements made -- confirmed once more the fact of how easy it is to lay waste to the economy and how difficult it is to raise it up again, but he said he had the impression that in Radom Voivodship the process of improvement had already begun and that the party organization knew what had to be done and what sort of methods to use. There is no doubt that proprietary thinking and action are essential everywhere.

Passing on to problems related to the operation of the reform, Comrade Barcikowski pointed out that the period of implementing the new principles of running things started a very short time ago and that we are still learning, but the reform is forcing us to think, to look for proper solutions. We are looking for alternate means in places where we used to spend a great deal of money with a light hand. There are distortions too. For example, various sorts of price manipulations appear, and improprieties in the plan worry us, but all this is coming to an end. Now that the foreground has been cleaned up, the year 1983 will be decisive for the reform. One condition is that independence not be taken to mean a "do-nothing" approach. The sense of the reform is the liberation of the initiative of the people. The country cannot be run by the Planning Commission but by the employees in our 60,000 plants. Realism must rule. Hopes should be adapted to actual capabilities. There will no longer be import supplements or credit, but we have only begun to think about how to use Polish raw material resources. There is also a great danger of inflation. We must decidedly strive more and more for market balance. Income must be related to a rise in production, and prices must be tied to costs.

All this requires the creation of the right social and political climate, the expansion of the movement of national rebirth, of the operation of the worker self-governments and the new trade unions. The central committee secretary said that he thought the plenum had not emphasized enough the need to build good unions concerned about workers' interests.

Tadeusz Wojsiewicz, first secretary of the town-gmina committee in Kozienice, presented the draft resolution defining the voivodship party organization's detailed undertakings in carrying out the tasks following the Tenth Party Plenum. The plenum unanimously endorsed the document.

In organizational matters the plenum called on the directors of the following voivodship committee departments: Henryk Janus, Political Organization Department; Waldemar Kalbarczyk, Socioeconomic Department; Henryk Kubik, Propaganda and Agitation Department; and Stanislaw Aleksander, Administration Department.

The plenum received information on the work of the voivodship committee's executive board and on the course of the reports campaign.

In bringing the deliberations to a close, Comrade B. Prus stated that everything goes to show that Radom Voivodship is on the right road to putting the economy in order. The position reached this year permits an optimistic forecast for 1983. At the beginning of next year there are plans to return to economic issues. In keeping with the requests of comrades, the voivodship committee will take up the implementation of investments for the health service and education. These and other matters will be discussed at the voivodship reports conference in February 1983.

The plenum closed with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Party Tasks, Discussions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Dec 82 p 3

[Article: "Plenary Session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom; Tasks of the Radom Party Organization in Implementing the Resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee; Summary of the Report of the Voivodship Committee's Executive Board"]

[Text] The recent Tenth Party Plenum confirmed the desire for consistent implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, which in the economic sphere apply mainly to getting the country out of the crisis and bringing the economic reform to full health. The directions approved at the plenum for the socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 are providing the opportunity for rebuilding the production level and restoring market equilibrium. It was determined that the second variant of the plan is the most realistic and has the chance of being completely successful.

In keeping with the laws of 25 September 1981 and 26 February 1982, the enterprises are operating on the basis of their own plans, which are no longer approved by supervising units but by plant directors themselves. Consultation committees have already presented their views on this subject on behalf of the workers.

The great difficulties in preparing the plans stemmed from adapting the products to supply capabilities and market needs, but the enterprises undertook numerous efforts to find anti-import solutions, to reduce the consumption of materials, and to use by-products and waste products. Worth mentioning in particular here are RADOSKOR Leather Industry Plant, RWT [Radom Technical Manufacturing?], and PRONIT Leather-Plastics Works.

Enterprises also showed great independence in setting prices, and this is closely tied in with self-financing. An analysis made by the voivodship section of the Polish National Bank showed that all plants in the region have the basis for availing themselves of credit.

The wage system is one of the weakest elements of the reform. What is called the minor wage reform, in the opinion of the enterprises, was introduced too late (as of 1 July of this year). Therefore some of the larger factories worked out their own incentive systems. The RADOSKOR complex is an example. The workers were not very favorable either when they were consulted during the 3d quarter of this year concerning a proposal to change wages in keeping with what a well-known pamphlet called "How Much For Whom?" describes. But not even the best system can take the specific features of each enterprise into account. Thus a wage system adapted to the conditions of individual production positions can be drawn up only within the plant.

After 11 months of work under the conditions of the reform, most of the directors of economic units have adapted to the new principles. There has been an obvious rise in activity and in initiative in overcoming difficulties, but there are still conservative attitudes, of people waiting for guidelines, instructions, indicators, and allocations, relics of a period which is already a thing of the past. The recent decision concerning a compulsory check of management personnel to see that they are familiar with provisions of the reform also met with a strong reaction in Radom Voivodship. We hope that representatives of Radom enterprises will give a good account of themselves in this examination.

A decision of the Tenth Central Committee Plenum called for making certain modifications in the principles of the reform. The changes proposed mainly concern the way economic requirements are tightened with regard to the enterprises, which have abused the authority given them. Here it is also a question of a more direct relationship between increased earnings and an increase in production and decline in costs, and therefore protection of the public interest.

What were the results in major areas of the voivodship's economy after 11 months' operation under the conditions of the reform?

In industry, the basic sector of material production, the enterprises are achieving better results than last year. Tasks were exceeded by 1.4 percent in relation to the 1981 level, and by close to 1.4 billion zlotys in

terms of value. The voivodship is among the country's front-runners in this respect.

There are adverse phenomena too, despite the generally favorable results. Up until now there has been no success in arresting the production decline in plants like PREDOM-LUCZNIK Metal Plants, the Switch Factory, PRONIT in Pionki, GERLACH Tableware Combine in Drzewicz, or the Mechanical Equipment Factory (FUM) in Warka. In construction the basic production figures after 11 months were about 11 percent lower. This year it is projected that more than 2,300 dwelling units will be completed. Up until now 84,300 square meters usable space has been completed. This is about two-thirds of that planned.

For various reasons the time-not-worked index has become worse. On average each worker in the industrial group during 10 months of this year failed to work 172 hours, which is 6.5 percent more than a year ago.

The situation in agriculture is complicated. Grain yields approximated 22.5 quintals per hectare, and the potato and fodder yields were lower than those planned. Adverse trends continue in the livestock numbers. The basic holdings of livestock have declined. This is bound to cause worry and concern for the situation on the market next year.

One of the major tasks during the next few months is the preparation of socioeconomic plans in the enterprises for next year and also to the year 1985. About 1,000 enterprises all over the country have been obliged to draw up such a plan, and this includes a dozen and some in Radom Voivodship, but we think that in the current situation all economic units of industry, construction, the municipal economy, and trade should have such a document. This will force them to reflect not only on tomorrow but also on the implementation of tasks in the more distant future.

Among the three versions of the three-year plan presented by the Council of Ministers Planning Commission, in our voivodship the intermediate version had the most advocates. Most of the enterprises see themselves reaching the 1980 production level in 1985, but there are also those which expect greater results. One of these is RWT.

There are three variants to the voivodship three-year plan concerning the population's standard of living just as there are for the central plan. The region's delays in many areas in keeping with the decisions of the Government Presidium (decision of June 1981) will make it possible to exceed planned expenditures. This opportunity must not be wasted. In the optimistic variant of the draft local investment plan, joint outlays exceed 23 billion zlotys in the three-year period. In 1983-1984 the outlays are to approximate 7 billion zlotys, but in 1985, about 9 billion. This increase will make it necessary to accelerate housing construction, as discussed at the September plenum of the voivodship committee.

In our voivodship the municipal economy will be a key position. Out of the total of 11 billion zlotys of outlays, more than 4 billion will go for expenditures on the infrastructure. Hospital construction and public health facilities have been allocated about 2.3 billion zlotys, along with 1.1 billion for preschool care and educational purposes. A relatively great increase in outlays is also projected for environmental protection, a rise from 300 million in 1982 to 900 million in 1985 and a total of 1.9 billion over the 3 years. Treatment plants in Radom and similar installations in Bialobrzegi, Grojec, Ilza, Przysucza, Drwalewo, Wierzbica, and Zwolenie are the major investments.

The great underinvestment in regulating river banks and in flood prevention related to farmland along with rural water supply will also be the justification for the large outlays of 2.6 billion zlotys for agriculture.

Future plans for development of the voivodship were discussed at the regional activist meetings. In many plants consultations were held and included the plans of the enterprises. The Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council also reviewed the basic targets of the plan. These consultations resulted in a number of suggestions and comments, and the list of tasks is therefore continually subject to review. Those solutions which are most justified socially and economically are selected. An important stage in the whole structure of work on the plan of the voivodship should be today's plenum.

The party organizations in the plants must be the spokesman on behalf of proper plans for every enterprise, realistic stimulating plans which must include a proper understanding of the workers' social and everyday needs. The party organizations should inspire the self-governments and directors' offices to draw up their own three-year plans. It is essential to have party initiative aimed at that wage system solution that will help bring about more productive work of better quality.

The Central Committee's Tenth Plenum left the decision about working on Saturdays up to the enterprises. Here the party echelons and organizations must not remain on the sidelines. The good model of RADOSKOR should be more widely utilized. In taking into account the possibility of undertaking production for supply of the market, we must be decisive in resisting the recent popular practice of trading goods among plants.

The Eighth Party Plenum's resolution concerning the creation of employee self-governments is being implemented too slowly. Within the voivodship there are self-governments in operation in 12 units. Forty-five applications for reactivation have received favorable consideration. Alongside independence and self-financing, the employee self-government movement represents one of the three pillars of the concept of the economic reform. Hence the creation of more effectively creating conditions favoring the creation and activation of self-government operations so that they will come into being everywhere by the end of this year is a task of the party organizations, in keeping with the resolution of the Tenth Party Plenum.

It seems as though the time has come for party members as well as social and youth activists to undertake the work of agitation on a broader scale for trade union membership. At the present time there are 391 initiative groups and 124 trade union founders' committees operating in the voivodship, and they have a total of 13,500 people.

There is an urgent need to work out appropriate forms and methods of action for the POP and KZ [plant committees] cooperating with the self-government, trade unions, youth organization, and directors. More attention must be given to young people. Their enthusiasm and energy should be directed to the problematics of getting out of the crisis and implementing the economic reform.

The party organizations and echelons must not forget about the proper structuring of human relations, correct personnel policy, and systematic contacts with foremen and team leaders. As the result of this action, the role of NOT [Supreme Technical Organization], PTE [Polish Economic Society], and TNOiK [Scientific Society for Organization and Management] should also increase.

We must convince society that we have a program worked out to overcome the difficulties, one developed at the initiative of our party. Following from this program are concrete tasks for all members of the party, allied political groups, youth, social, and professional organizations, and also the units of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and the trade unions.

#### Discussion

Marian Kotowicz, senior master craftsman at Walter Mechanical Plants:

The enterprise is getting its own plan for 1983-1985 ready. The party organizations are also discussing it. It is possible to increase production by 5 percent each year, but we need a better supply of raw materials and stronger ties of cooperation. Many of the problems are associated with the shortage of skilled personnel. Walter sets high requirements for its employees, but it is unfortunately not offering top wages in the town. That is why we are not getting an adequate influx of young specialists to keep up with our needs.

Improved supply and the creation of material incentives for taking a job in the enterprise could create the conditions for the further development of export production. Nearly half the products manufactured here, such as sewing machines and typewriters, find eager foreign buyers.

Jan Jasinski, first secretary of the plant committee at the construction combine:

There are just about universal complaints that construction workers do not work well, that they are incompetent, that management is bad, and that

there are many defects in their work. It is true that all is not well with the contractors, but it is too bad that not all the elements of the investment process are being looked into. Very frequently the conditions created for the contracting enterprises do not favor good work. Housing construction in Radom is without the necessary land development. Cooperation with project designers miscarries. There are growing problems with the financing of investment undertakings. Housing construction programs take social needs into account but not necessarily the contractors' processing capacities and abilities.

The placement of separate boilers next to each building is a nuisance not only for town residents but also for the construction workers, and this is nothing new. Urban heating plants are still beyond our dreams.

Jozef Tobiasz, technical director, POLMETAL Metal Plants:

The enterprise specializes in the production of gas ranges. There are four other such plants in the country. As an independent enterprise, POLMETAL prepared an ambitious plan to expand production over the next 3 years. It undertook a number of investments. It acquainted itself with the needs of the market. It has already signed many binding agreements for deliveries of ranges next year for the domestic market and for export.

The Council of Ministers recently passed a resolution which limits the independence of all enterprises producing gas ranges. ELMET is to determine the size of production and wholesale and retail sales. Its suggestions undermine the Radom enterprise's ambitious plans. It will be necessary to break contracts entered into earlier. It has been calculated that the enterprise will face losses of over 300 million zlotys in contract fines. On behalf of the workers the speaker called on the PZPR Central Committee to intervene in this matter.

Jan Malec, RADOSKOR employee:

According to the initial plans, RADOSKOR was to produce about 4.5 million pairs of shoes this year and that is all. By having the workers work on Saturdays they would have had off and by obtaining leather deliveries from the Soviet Union, it has been possible to expand production to more than 7 million pairs. This better utilization of production capacity is also being furthered by a new effective wage system which gives priority to high output and to work on free Saturdays. Discipline and productivity have clearly risen. People are interested in economic effects, because they know that their good efforts will produce concrete measurable benefits for them in terms of zlotys in their pocket.

The wage system will be modified beginning in the new year. For example, it will give priority to the good work of craftsmen, technicians, and designers.

There has been a dramatic improvement in the management of raw materials. All leather waste materials are handled in a just about model way. It has turned out that they can be used in sewing even grade I shoes. This makes them attractive and comfortable, only they are made out of smaller pieces.

Eugeniusz Szpernal, director of the voivodship department of the Polish National Bank in Radom:

Despite the many moves to put the economy in order, the market imbalance continues to be quite serious. For example, recently in the voivodship there has been an increase of more than 6 billion zlotys in cash payments for the population, but the supply of consumer goods declined by 11 percent at the same time. This also produces signs of investment imbalance. In order to combat inflationary processes, the plans for 1983-1985 call for the proper construction of the balance-sheet of population income and expenditures. Despite the fact that economic management is not very effective yet, the enterprises' financial results are showing some improvement. The growth rate of production has increased and profitability gotten better. Next year, for example, it is anticipated that the supply of market goods will increase, basic credit will be replaced by long-term credit, and credit for trade and service units will be expanded.

Alfons Czartoszewski, director of ZEOW in Radom:

An equalized balance-sheet of power and electricity in the national power system will be maintained next year too. If the planned execution of the investment at Polaniec and Belchatow goes as scheduled, this condition will remain to the year 1985. Except for possible emergencies and brown-outs caused, for example, by an exceptionally hard winter, we do not expect to shut off power to consumers. By 1985 the voivodship's power users will receive, among other things, a new power station of 32 megawatts in Ilza and a 110-kilovolt transmission line between Kozienice and Zwolenie. ZEOW will make every effort to accelerate the construction of the electric power plant in Radom.

Alojzy Wojciechowski, Radom Voivodship Governor:

The most important problems of implementing the plan for 1983-1985 are the investment processes, and questions of farm and material policy. We consulted with residents of the voivodship's towns and gminas on these goals and took into account the needs of individual groups. Next year we want to complete 3,036 apartments and turn them over to the population, but when the construction workers are talking about the faults of others, why do they neglect their own? Why are they worried about the arcade in Predocinek, when in the same time they could built two arcades like it at Ustron? Nor is it true that the land for Poludnie residential center is not ready for construction firms to come in. On the other hand, I can assure you of one thing: For the voivodship administration there will be no task more important than upgrading their operation.

Andrzej Luty, secretary of the voivodship administration of ZSMP:

Sometimes we have asked ourselves what youth could do to push our economy forward even a little bit. We described the tasks of young people at the main administration's plenum. Among other things, we shall acquaint ZSMP members in the factories with the targets of the process of reform. To this end we have worked with the economic society to create a school of economic initiative. The youth will gain knowledge there which they can pass on to their peers. Thirty people have already attended the sessions.

Boguslaw Zarebski, deputy voivodship commander of the Citizens' Militia:

Under Radom's conditions during the period of the greatest political struggle we never were forced anywhere to withdrawn from the chosen course. The fact that during the whole time there was peace in our voivodship is the result of good cooperation among all social forces. The consistent implementation of the principles of the economic reform will put an end to the abuses and the instances of waste and carelessness which still occur.

The political struggle is not yet over. We must bring the organizers of political rowdiness to light. We will avoid confrontation, but if the enemy forces us to it, we are prepared even for such a possibility as this.

Andrzej Pierzchala, deputy mayor of Radom:

The subject matter being discussed today has two other important issues mixed up in it: What sort of care are we providing for our children, and what access do the ill have to a physician? For this reason we should talk about investments in public health and education. Not everything can be taken care of using the method of "small steps" by building small preschools, by remodelling and adaptation. Today the Radom Voivodship governor said that the construction plan was based on balancing the power of enterprises with building materials. This is therefore a realistic plan, but after all in previous years no investment of the public health ministry or of education was completed by the construction workers according to regular schedules or in the time provided for in the plans. The industrial enterprises decline to become involved in the costs. They do not want to invest in schools or public health. This situation is unacceptable.

Piotr Piotrowski, master craftsman at RADOSKOR:

After the principles of the economic reform were announced, we started to consider how to implement incentive system assumptions. And so wages were sorted out in our enterprise. The rise in wages at RADOSKOR keeps pace with the rise in productivity. Better work produces a profit for the worker. After 11 months the mean wage, without supplements, is 9,800 zlotys in our place. We are also examining variants of the enterprise plan for next year. A very important management move was the setting up our very own plant stores. Not only do the shoes reach people more quickly, but this is also

an opportunity for market research, and the profits which our workers earn remain in the plant. We are considering the possibility of setting up a small plant housing cooperative to bring concrete assistance in this way to the people from our enterprise who are waiting for their own apartment.

Jan Jaworski, plant committee secretary, PZPR, at the Radom Tobacco Industry Plants:

We want to expand cigaret production by 600 million. A few days ago "Start" cigarettes sold outside the rationing system hit the market. The tobacco reserves already on hand assure production for next year. In the tobacco industry the building up of production support and the mobilization in our country of production to turn out the necessary machinery are very important. We have to limit imports of such machinery.

Jerzy Kurpinski, State Machine Center director, Strzalkow:

The reform is the hope and opportunity for the Polish economy. In our enterprise an analysis was made of the costs of service, and we calculated new rates per hour's work of our mechanics. Initially we noted less interest in our services. We were convinced that the higher prices were the cause. It turned out that the farms were not anxious to repair their equipment. The agrarian circle cooperatives, state farms, and other units sell off their machinery and use the funds received for improvements in their financial results. Others attempt to repair machinery in their own area, while the work stations and skilled technicians at the State Machine Centers wait.

Eugeniusz Czarkowski, AGROMET Farm Machinery Factory, Rzucow:

AGROMA requires us to produce various sorts of equipment for rolling the ground, although we cannot sell it. The machinery is lying in our storehouses, and we are looking for customers to buy it. I want to say something about the trade unions too. We have not done anything by force. The day after the Sejm law was published, we held a meeting at which 50 employees signed a petition to create a union organization.

#### Trade Assessment

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 82 p 2

[Article: "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom: Assessment of Trade Work; Analysis of the Sociopolitical Situation in the Cultural Community"]

[Text] The executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom made an assessment at its meeting yesterday to evaluate the functioning of trade units, giving particular attention to preparations for their work

in the period before the holidays. It also made an analysis of the activity of commission shops and franchise points for the period of the first 3 quarters of this year. The next point on the agenda was the evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in the cultural community in the light of the suggestions which the executive board of the voivodship committee made on 19 April of this year.

In becoming familiar with the information presented by representatives of various trade enterprises and supervising institutions, the executive board found that Radom Voivodship is better supplied with foodstuffs for the holiday period this year than it was last year. A number of steps were taken to make improvements. A special schedule was drawn up for deliveries of goods. The working hours of the shops were extended. All this together should provide for proper service to customers with larger purchases. On the other hand there is cause for concern over the shortages of many manufactured products. Their deliveries are often smaller by half than in 1981. Good production results of the region entitle Radom Voivodship to better treatment in the distribution of goods. As was emphasized, the ever-increasing supply of footwear being delivered to the market is a positive element. In March 1983, in keeping with a promise, sales of footwear for ration coupons issued this year should come to an end. There are still serious shortages of felt and rubber footwear.

There are 170 commission shops operating in Radom Voivodship, and within this system there are 30 plants and 67 catering establishments in operation. It is the opinion of the executive board that we still have a big problem with the various improprieties occurring in them and provoking just social protest. There are no grounds for limiting the forms of such shops, but we must absolutely give up the services of those that do not uphold their agreements, as the improprieties show. In the social interest this very group must be subject to frequent thorough inspections.

In reviewing the sociopolitical situation in the cultural community, the executive board found that most people employed in the various facilities and institutions have a correct understanding of their work, serving society. The Kochanowski Theater is preparing the presentation of its next spectacle on television. The houses of culture and societies are carrying on lively discussions, but we must not forget about the mass movement, and here, for objective reasons, some barriers are noted. This particularly applies to the smaller facilities. The division of culture and art at the University of Warsaw should soon take appropriate steps to find new activists. There is a need to update the work of the Ruch clubs, the farmers' clubs, and the rural community centers. This must also be the task for the youth organizations.

## Reports Campaign Assessment

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 83 p 2

[Article: "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom: Assessment of the Reports Campaign; Preparations for the Voivodship Conference"]

[Text] At its session yesterday the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom assessed the reports campaign in basic-level echelons and organizations. This very important stage in party activity was preceded by appropriate preparations, the training of the secretary and activist group, regional meetings, and so on, and this sort of action turned out to produce the desired effects. The campaign helped to bolster the unity of party ranks and consolidation with the broad masses of society, thereby leading to normalization of life in the region and in the country. Alongside the party matters which were mainly related to an analysis of the attitudes of comrades, a great deal of space went to economic affairs, as we might expect given the present situation. This included the implementation of the reform, the reactivation of employee self-governments, the creation of a climate suitable to the formation of independent new trade union structures, and so on. The rural meetings were dominated in turn by concern for stability of farm policy, production profitability, the acceleration of land reclamation, construction, and road repairs. Needs were pointed out in the realm of the proper operation of public health facilities, as well as educational and cultural facilities. The overwhelming majority of the discussion showed great concern for removing adverse phenomena which hamper both party activity and professional work. Decidedly rare were demagogic statements. Most attention was given to affairs concerning people's own plants and communities. There was criticism of the system of remuneration for work, of the market supply of manufactured items, and of the still meager results in the fight against speculation and waste. More than 200 proposals were made. Most of them were turned over to the voivodship governor and concerned things like the construction of a school in Ciepielow, the management of installations of the RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] in Gniewoszow, and the solution of the problem of buying secondary raw materials in Szydlowiec.

In the course of the campaign, shortcomings in party activity also became apparent. About 20 percent of the meetings were not held by the first date scheduled, and attendance at some of them did not reach 60 percent. Five members were suspended and 35 members were crossed off the rolls during that period for lack of discipline and a low level of activity. This applies to comrades from small organizations, but it is just to these small organizations that the local echelons must speed organizational and political assistance.

The executive board gave good marks on the course of the reports campaign. It said that the fact that in the course of the campaign 31 persons were accepted as applicants both in urban and rural party organizations was proof of consolidation. It also emphasized the necessity of rapid handling of all the matters brought up.

The executive board also discussed preparations for the voivodship reports conference, the preliminary date for it being set for 18 February of this year. Back in November an appropriate schedule was adopted and a special group was appointed. Yesterday the executive board members analyzed the material which had already been presented. It was found that the report must above all include a political assessment of the events and problems that are occurring, and the basis of it should be an accounting of the implementation of the resolutions undertaken by the Ninth Party Congress and the voivodship conference, as well as the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the Voivodship Committee. We should also remove the minuses assigned in party work, in recognition of the very difficult period during which tasks had to be carried out during the first term of office.

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SOCIAL ROLE OF CATHOLIC CHURCH ANALYZED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 12, Dec 82 pp 129-137

Article by Jerzy Grodlewski: "The Relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the Intelligentsia and Their Social Role"

Text Religion is one of the forms of social consciousness, comprising not only a set of beliefs (doctrine) but also a group of activities. Its structure therefore includes religious organization, which often takes two forms: the religious institution with a professional staff (usually clergymen) and the religious community consisting of the adherents of the given religion. Religion belongs to society's ideological-institutional superstructure, which is connected only indirectly with the economic base. These elementary truths of social development that pertain to religion also apply to Catholicism. Catholicism, like other religions, arose and developed as a result of the initiative, reflections and actions primarily of the intelligentsia of successive social formations (beginning in this case with the period of slavery). The creators and followers of this religion were and are the Christian intelligentsia, who bring it into every social class. The formulation of Catholic doctrine and organization, and their evolution, are not left to chance but are determined by the conscious thought of the Catholic intelligentsia.

Catholicism, the Catholic religious, moral and social doctrine, and the Catholic world view and ideology derive from theories propounded by the Roman Catholic Church as an institution, or, to be more precise, by the Educational Office of the Church (popes and bishops). The content of these theories may, of course, be influenced by the views of the Catholic laity and even of the non-Catholic intelligentsia, but Catholicism is the creation primarily of the Church hierarchy.

The Roman Catholic Church as an ecclesiastical institution consists of clergy and a relatively small group of people who in practice do not play an essential role in it (e.g., monks and nuns, organists). The clergy should undoubtedly be included among the intelligentsia in view of their professional training and the nature of their occupation. The clergy, however, should be divided into two groups that differ considerably from each other: the hierarchy and the lower priesthood. The hierarchy has authority in the areas of Church legislation, adjudication, administration and instruction, with

the pope having a special role not only in the field of "faith and morality" (infallibility) but also in the formulation of sociopolitical doctrine. The lower priesthood is supposed to carry out the instructions of the hierarchy; it "must obey the bishop and renounce its own wisdom, its own plans and steps."<sup>1</sup> Both the diocesan and the monastic clergy must subordinate themselves to their Church hierarchy in every field of their activity. Pope John Paul II has said: "No one may practice theology as a set of his own views, but he must be aware that he remains in a special union with that mission of Truth for which the Church is responsible."<sup>2</sup> Every activity of the priest is programmed and subject to control and evaluation. This is true not only of the priest's activities within the Church but of his social and political activities as well. The Roman Congregation of Clergy issued on 8 March 1982, "A Declaration Concerning Certain Associations and Movements Forbidden to the Clergy," which states that priests "should never serve any human ideology or party" and that "those associations which have goals connected with politics, even when it outwardly appears that they wish to serve humanitarian ideals, peace and social progress, are undoubtedly incompatible with the ministry and are therefore also prohibited to all members of the clergy."<sup>3</sup> Previously, in May 1980, Pope John Paul II had forbidden priests to hold public office.<sup>4</sup> The Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate on May 4, 1982, gratefully accepted the above "Declaration" and forbids priests to belong to the Catholic association "Caritas."<sup>5</sup> All this indicates that the hierarchy wants to ensure its exclusive authority in the ideological guidance of the clergy in the current political struggle, and that these prohibitions are implicitly directed against leftwing movements and associations. The last observation is confirmed by the fact that activity by the clergy in behalf of the Christian Democratic Party and the political right wing is not hindered by the hierarchy. An example of this is the support given to the Italian CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] or in 1981 to Jozef Tischner and other priests in "Solidarity."

To sum up the position of the Church toward its own professional intelligentsia (the clergy), the Church divides them into two groups: the hierarchy and the lower clergy. Only members of the hierarchy are given the right to speak independently on behalf of the Church, whereas their subordinates are charged with executing the tasks placed before them, at most the development and justification of the hierarchy's instructions. That priests sometimes step outside the roles assigned to them is another matter.

The relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the lay intelligentsia and, even more broadly, to the Catholic laity, was always dependent on the hierarchy's perception of the role, nature and method of intervention by the Church (the institution and the clergy) in the totality of social, political and public life. This Church intervention can be expressed by the term "integralism" or "neointegralism" (in various forms).

Integralism (the classic form) developed from the medieval ideal of society formed according to the ecclesiastical, theocratic model. In this ideal, the Church totally united social and public life not only by means of Church ideology but also through its own nonideological coercion and the coercion of the administrative machinery of the state. Classic integralism denied any

value to the secular world and wanted to subordinate it completely to the Church. The integralist motto "Instaure omnia in Christo" was particularly characteristic of "clericalism." This is the idea of the direct influence of the clergy on social, political, public and economic life in order to create optimal conditions for the development of the Church. Clericalism demands that the state as a whole, political and social organizations, and individual citizens be guided in their activity above all by the norms and precepts of the Church. "Clericalism," writes the American Jesuit J. L. McKenzie, "demands for the clergy a decisive voice in secular affairs. This is expressed, however, in different terms: a voice is demanded not for the clergy but for the Church."<sup>6</sup>

Neointegralism perceives changes in the world and attaches significance to them, recognizing a certain "autonomy" of the secular world and the state. The goal, however, remains the same as in integralism: the hegemony of Church ideology and institutions over all areas of social and public life. The differences between neointegralism and classic integralism on the one hand, and between the various currents in neointegralism on the other, have to do with the means of attaining this ideal (i.e., the details of the mechanism whereby the hegemony of the Church is to be implemented in public life) and with the definition of the role of the Catholic laity, particularly the intelligentsia. Neointegralism is not as closely connected with clericalism as is integralism; on the contrary, the activity of the Catholic laity (principally the intelligentsia), defined as the "apostolate of the laity," is the condition sine qua non for the realization of the basic goals of neo-integralism.

The integralist model of the relation of the Church to the intelligentsia took various forms in the long history of the Church up to the midtwentieth century. Since the time of the feudal union of Church and state, the ecclesiastical hierarchy sought to maintain a monopoly on the entire educational system, publishing houses and other cultural media. Besides molding the character of the intelligentsia, the Church supervised them directly through various organizations and associations run by the clergy. When, after the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution, part of the intelligentsia asserted their independence and freedom of opinion and became the driving force of ideological and social change, the Church saw its sole support in clericalism. Pius IX in the encyclical "Quanta Cura" of 8 December 1864, spoke out against "radicals," the "falsest of men," who would like to change the "just social order," "who disseminate godless sciences of every kind, deceiving peoples and deluding them maliciously by means of poisoned books, leaflets and newspapers that they spread throughout the world." They were condemned and rejected.

The Church gave more attention to the lay Catholic intelligentsia beginning with the Church's process of adjustment to the capitalist system, a process connected on the one hand with the desire to instill Christian values in capitalism, and on the other hand with fierce resistance to the ideals of socialism and its propagators. This process commenced with the pontificate of Leo XIII, particularly with his encyclical "Rerum Novarum" in which he

wrote: "How praiseworthy are those many individuals who, understanding the needs of the moment, are seeking and finding honest ways to better the lot of the proletariat. By thus taking the proletariat under their charge (...), they ease the relations between workers and employers, and awake and strengthen in both the memory of duty and the precepts of the Gospel (...) they come together to advise one another, to join forces and to consider the most important tasks. Others are working on the establishment of workers' associations..." Leo XIII thus assigned to the Catholic intelligentsia the task of "solving the labor question" by inculcating social solidarity and by leading the labor movement.

Papal hopes in the social and political role of the intelligentsia were also reflected in the Christian Democratic parties founded at the end of the nineteenth century. The leading force in these parties was and is the intelligentsia, largely the descendants of the upper middle class and the landed gentry (up to the mid-1950's the clergy were also a major force). To be sure, the Church's optimistic view of the intelligentsia and their social role was shaken at the turn of the twentieth century by Catholic modernism, which had a considerable and lasting influence on the Christian intelligentsia in many countries and gave rise to trends that are now appearing in the form of so-called open Catholicism.

During the interwar period, Church integralism in regard to the lay intelligentsia was particularly marked in the lay Catholic organizations of "Catholic Action." While it is true that Pius X used the name "Catholic Action" for the first time in 1903, the "pope of Catholic Action" was Pius XI, who provided it with an organizational framework and in the encyclical "Ubi arcano" of 22 December 1922 set forth its goals of "the Christianization of all spheres of life." Originally a "four-column" organization was established (men, women and adolescents of both sexes) in which the guiding role belonged to the intelligentsia under the direct supervision of the clergy; later, however, occupational sodalities arose that brought together physicians, lawyers, architects, etc. In Poland in November 1930, on the initiative of Cardinal Hlond, the Catholic Action statute ratified by the Episcopate was published and the "Main Institute of Catholic Action" was founded. As PRZEWODNIK SPOŁECZNY (1931, No 1) wrote, this was "the official act of the Church in Poland under the leadership of the spiritual authorities," and its purpose was to "imbue our entire private and public life, all political, social and economic relationships, with the principles of the Gospel (...) It is to lead (...) to the thoroughgoing application of Catholic principles in the life of the state..." Institutes of Higher Religious Culture" were established exclusively for the intelligentsia.

After the Second World War, as a result of the acute shortage of priests, the papacy began to devote more attention to the laity, particularly the intelligentsia. On 5 October 1957, Pius XII said: "Independently of the small number of priests, relations between the Church and the world require the intervention of lay apostles who take part in economic and social life and participate in public office and legislative assemblies."<sup>7</sup> Their endeavor is to be "consecratio mundi," the "sanctification of the world" in

all spheres of life in accordance with Church doctrine; in other words, the sacralization of the world, public life, the law and state by the laity, above all by the intelligentsia. Similarly, Paul VI often called upon laymen to sanctify the world, to imbue it with a Christian spirit. The documents of Vatican II, in discussing the Church's mission in the world, devote a fair amount of space to the question of lay Catholics, particularly the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church" and the "Decree on the Apostolate of Laymen." Their task is to mold "in the Christian spirit the attitudes, mores, laws and political system of their society" in their places of "work or occupation, study or residence, recreation or social gatherings (...)."<sup>8</sup> "Catholics knowledgeable about public affairs who are confirmed in faith and Christian doctrine should not refrain from engaging in public service, because by performing it worthily they can contribute to the general good and at the same time prepare the way for the Gospel."<sup>9</sup>

Since the time of "aggiornamento" with its formulation of partially new conclusions and criteria, and since the pontificate of John XXIII, the Church has attempted to treat and make use of the intelligentsia in a new manner. Integralism is giving way to neointegralism. As M. D. Chenu has pointed out, efforts are being made not to treat the intelligentsia as a "flock (troupeau) of faithful, silent people blindly obedient to their pastors"; rather, they are accorded a certain autonomy and relative independence. Since the Second Vatican Council, informal associations of the intelligentsia, also called spontaneous groups, have increasingly gained the right of citizenship within the Church. In the activity of the Catholic intelligentsia one must distinguish between what they do "on their own behalf as citizens guided by the voice of Christian conscience and what they do together with their pastors on behalf of the Church."<sup>10</sup> Paul VI spoke of the danger of "laissez-faire," "that is, the tendency often appearing in Catholics who arrogate to themselves the right of independence vis-a-vis the Church hierarchy and who want to limit the activity of the clergy solely to performance of official duties and to theoretical teaching of Christian doctrine."<sup>11</sup> Similarly, John Paul II obligates the Catholic laity to act "in unity and obedience" toward their "authorized priests" when using the hierarchy's "mandate" for socio-political activity.<sup>12</sup>

The Catholic intelligentsia, however, do not always carry out the instructions of the hierarchy, inasmuch as they represent various social and class interests; understandably, there are differences in political and ideological views between the laity and the hierarchy (of course such differences occur among the hierarchy too). Moreover, the Church's sociopolitical doctrine, in its postconciliar, often ambiguous and enigmatic version, is interpreted by Catholics in various ways. New theological theories (e.g., political theology, the theology of liberation, the theology of revolution, etc.) also play a certain role.

Ever since the inspiration of J. Maritain, E. Mounier and P. Teilhard de Chardin, so-called open Catholicism has gained a position among the Catholic intelligentsia. Derived from Christian personalism in its various forms, open Catholicism concentrates its attention on the role of the Catholic intellectual

elite as a dynamic force in the evangelization of the world and in the rechristianization of laicized circles. Open Catholicism, while acknowledging the primacy of Christian social ethics, does not reject Marxism totally but claims to "reveal" it to Christianity. The varieties of this social and intellectual movement within Catholicism (in Poland as well) have been the subject of many studies and publications, some of which are Marxist in approach.

Apart from these factors, which exist in the universal Church and affect Catholic theories of the intelligentsia and their social role, these theories in Poland are influenced by a number of phenomena specific to the local, Polish Church. After the Second World War, the bourgeoisie and the landed gentry ceased to play the leading role among the Catholic intelligentsia, although attempts are being renewed to transform the Roman Catholic Church into an institute of legal opposition in the PPR. Various anti-socialist elements are focusing their attention and hopes on this. On the other hand, the patriotic Catholic intelligentsia participating in the building of socialism in Poland do not want to break their ties with the Church.

The Polish Episcopate and clergy appreciate today the intelligentsia's role in the current struggle for the "hearts and minds" of society, hence the academic clergy are working assiduously among the intelligentsia, the students and the Catholic Intellectuals' Clubs, and are giving close attention to publishing houses and the media. In a situation where believers want to see in the Church a religious institution called upon to meet their religious needs, the Church is endeavoring to instill in them its sociopolitical doctrine in order to "establish the presence of the Church in all spheres of human activity."

In the PPR, it was only after 1956 that the Episcopate paid closer attention to the lay intelligentsia. Prior to that, certain anti-intellectual trends were perceptible. Since 1956 one can observe the lay intelligentsia's increasingly wider involvement--approved by the Episcopate and supported by intensive research and press activity--in the Sejm factions "Snak," PAX and the ChSS [Christian Social Association]; in the organizations KIK [Catholic Intellectuals' Clubs] PAX and the ChSS ODISS [Expansion unknown] (later the PZKS [Polish Catholic Social Union]); at KUL [Lublin Catholic University] and the ATK [Academy of Catholic Theology]; and at various seminars and gatherings, "prayer days of the Catholic intelligentsia," and "renaissance centers" (harking back to the prewar Sodality of Catholic Academic Youth "Renaissance.") In recent years, the Catholic intelligentsia has devoted special attention to the history of our people and its culture. They are "appropriating" significant figures in Polish history (particularly those from the interwar period) and glorifying the role of the Church and Catholicism. They consider it a duty to "incorporate Christianity into the life of the people and to assimilate it in the cultural system."

In the past few years, one can observe a new, activist trend among the Catholic intelligentsia, approved and sometimes even encouraged by the Episcopate. The aspiration for ideological uniformity has been abandoned, and pluralism

is tolerated. Ultimately, however, this pluralism is supposed to lead to Catholic uniformity, to the primacy of Christian ethics in all spheres of public life. Since the time of Bohdan Cywinski's "Rodowody niepokorne," the Church has proposed understanding and cooperation on the plane of the "ethics of nonconformism and civic courage, of respect for the dignity of each individual, of conscious social service undertaken together with those who want to resist prevailing injustices." Behind these high-sounding words lies the desire to bring about an understanding among enlightened people irrespective of class, an understanding that would lead to the elimination of socialist ideology. Those who have passed from radical Marxist to Catholic positions are being apotheosized in society. An intellectual elite of former Marxists, now anticomunists, are the heroes preparing the way of the future. This suggestion is corroborated today by the priest Jozef Tischner, who writes in an underground publication entitled POLSKI KSZTALT DIALOGU that "in the pluralistic Church, people of various backgrounds, including those from the left wing who are not tolerated by the Party, are finding a place for themselves."

For years, the ideological activity of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland has been extremely intense. This activity is based on a solidaristic sociopolitical doctrine.

The Church has frequently obligated Catholics "engaged in public, social and political activity" to "confirm their endeavors to the principles and instructions of the Church in social matters."<sup>13</sup> The Polish Episcopate conducts ideological and political activity through the agency of Catholic intellectuals. The Catholic activists and advisers in the former "Solidarity" strove to subject this movement to the ideological indoctrination of the Church hierarchy. The "Primal Social Council," composed of a group of Catholic intellectuals, drew up in April 1982 the "Theses" regarding social conciliation, and in May 1982 the "Propositions" containing "A General Social Program" and "In Socioeconomic matters." Generally speaking, these conceptions aim to establish in Polish social and political life an oppositional element with a Christian Democratic orientation.

In summary, it should be said that the Roman Catholic Church assigns to the Catholic intelligentsia the role of: sanctifying and evangelizing the world; christianizing public, social, political and cultural life; achieving its philosophical and ideological goals; and executing the instructions of the papal sociopolitical doctrine. The intelligentsia, however, do not always "ideally" carry out the hierarchy's instructions. They represent various social and class interests and differ politically and ideologically. For a struggle is going on in the divided world. One of the main aspects of this struggle is rivalry in the intellectual sphere. The intelligentsia create the most important intellectual and cultural values of every nation, and for this reason attract much interest. In the socialist state the Catholic intelligentsia are increasingly acknowledging socialist values, and various groups of them are participating more and more extensively in the development of everything that serves the prosperity and welfare of the country.

By and large, the Polish intelligentsia is concerned about the welfare of the nation and about genuine reform of the Republic. This is also true of the Catholic intelligentsia, whose ideological and political pluralism is a reality. They have various ideas on how to extricate Poland from its present complicated social situation and contradictions. On the one hand, some of the intelligentsia are advancing proposals that might be briefly categorized as "yesterday's postulates"; on the other hand, more and more of them are expressing a willingness to cooperate in bringing the country out of its crisis by strengthening the socialist state and by fulfilling the basic requirements of Poland's *raison d'état*. The latter orientation is reflected in the position and activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). One could mention here many representatives of Catholics who see in the framework of the socialist system increasingly better conditions for the development and collaboration of citizens regardless of their attitude toward religion. Illustrative of this entire trend is the statement of the well-known Catholic writer Jan Dobraczynski during the session of the Planning Committee of the PRON Provisional National Council.<sup>14</sup>

However, the "Polish school of national thought" (to borrow a term from Catholic journals) is also making its presence felt both in the Church and in lay Catholic circles. The Primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, said in his sermon of 24 January 1982, at the Holy Cross Cathedral in Warsaw: "Let civic committees of salvation be formed (...) But in organizing unity in accordance with civil laws, the participation of lay Catholics must be ensured." At his meeting of 8 November 1982, with the President of the Council of Ministers, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Msgr Glemp expressed "the common concern for the preservation and strengthening of peace, social order and conscientious work."

The concern and collaboration of all citizens of the PPR—irrespective of their ideological convictions and religious beliefs—in the cause of furthering the interests of the people and the state, overcoming its deficiencies, and fostering the economic and cultural development of Polish society find complete justification in the theory of socialist construction as well as in the state practice of today's Polish People's Republic. Since the time of Lenin's famous statement in his 1905 article entitled "Socialism and Religion," up to the current documents of Communist parties including the PZPR, Marxism-Leninism has explicitly proclaimed the ideas of the primacy of the class struggle for social justice and the primacy of the construction of the socialist state and society. In a socialist state, religious convictions are the private affair of its citizen. In public life, the constitutional separation of Church and state is mandatory.

The priorities of the Polish state and the objective interests of the Polish people indicate many possibilities for collaboration between Church and state. The program for bringing Poland out of its crisis and restoring its due place in the world, together with construction of the material prosperity of citizens and the cultural development of the country, are creating a lasting foundation for the collaboration of the Polish working masses, including the intelligentsia regardless of their philosophical outlook. For what is

essentially needed—as the Secretary of the Central Committee for the PZPR, Wojciech Jaruzelski, pointed out at the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee—is greater participation by nonparty individuals in social activity and in cogovernment of the country, so that it would be possible to speak of the rebirth of the social fabric in Poland.<sup>15</sup>

These principles are being borne out on the one hand in everyday life in factories, offices, schools, professional circles, social organizations, artistic activity, and in civic, social and organizational life, and on the other hand in the practice of state administration and in the activity of the state authorities on every level. Examples could be cited of participation by Catholics in the presidium of the Sejm and in the presidium of the Council of Ministers, and on various levels of government.

A feeling of national unity and a joint responsibility for the future of the state and the people are developing in the process of consolidation of new social, economic and political structures by means of joint efforts—irrespective of religious convictions—against factors hindering the realization of the preconditions for building a strong, modern socialist state—the Polish People's Republic.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. S. Wyszyński: "Sursum corda, Wybor przemówień [*Sursum corda, Collection of Speeches*], Poznań-Warsaw, 1974, p 66.
2. Cf. the encyclical of John Paul II, "Redemptor Hominis" in "Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis 1979," point 19.
3. Cf. L'OSERVATORE ROMANO (Polish edition), 1982, No 3, p 16.
4. Cf. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, 1980, No 21.
5. Cf: the "Statement of the 184th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate," L'OSERVATORE ROMANO (Polish edition), 1982, No 4, p 20. Similarly, priests in Czechoslovakia are forbidden membership in the progressive movement, *Pacem in Terris*.
6. Cf. J. L. McKenzie, "Władza w Kościele [*Authority in the Church*]" Warsaw, 1972, p 110.
7. Cf. "Acta Apostolicae Sedis", 1957, No 49.
8. Cf. the Second Vatican Council, Decree on the Apostolate of Laymen, "Apostolicam actuositatem", point 13.
9. Ibid, point 14.
10. Cf. the Second Vatican Council, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, "Gaudium et spes", point 76.

11. Cf. Paul VI, "Chrystus a czlowiek wspolczesny" [Christ and Modern Man], Poznan, 1971, pp 280-281.
12. Cf. L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, 29 January 1979.
13. For example, the plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate in March 1981 confirmed in a statement that political activity is the task of lay Catholics, who should be guided by the principles of Catholic social science. (Cf. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, 1981, No 12).
14. Cf. the text of the speech in SLOWO POWSZECHNE, 1982, No 147, and articles by Catholic activists, e.g., J. Ozdowski: "The Participation of Catholics in the Rebirth of Poland," KIERUNKI, 1982, No 4; and Z. Komender: "The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth," KIERUNKI, 1982, Nos 8 and 9.
15. NOWE DROGI, 1982, No 3, p 18.

3400  
CSO: 2600/255

ROMANIAN, CHARGES WITH ESPIONAGE, WAS COMPUTER EXPERT

Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Jan 83 p 12

[Article by Jean-Marc Theolleyre: "Romanian National Appears Before First Assize Court Without Jury"]

[Text] Charged with "cooperation with agents of a foreign power of a nature to harm France's military and diplomatic situation or its fundamental economic interests," Traian Mutean, a Romanian national arrested on 16 July 1979 was then scheduled to be tried by the State Security Court. After that court was dissolved by the law of 8 August 1981, he was for a time subject to trial by the armed forces permanent court. Finally, on 10 January he appeared in the assize court in Paris, but an assize court without a jury--the composition authorized by the very recent law of 21 July 1982, which dissolved the military courts in peacetime. This law introduces a modification of the penal procedure code to authorize formation of an assize court without a jury, composed only of the court's normal presiding judge of the Court of Appeal.

This new form of assize court was thus convening for the first time for the trial of Muntean. Had he comprehended this change? Did he realize that the new procedure deprived him of the right to challenge under the traditional jury selection process? And that the decision of the seven judges would be by simple majority, only four votes being necessary for a decision rather than at least eight votes necessary when the nine jurors are seated with the three professional judges? Or would he have a better chance, before these judges, of presenting a defense strategy aimed at a non-guilty verdict?

The Computer Specialist and the Secret Agents

The decision to be made on conclusion of the presentation of evidence will be to choose between the not always clear explanations by the accused--though he has perfect mastery of our language--and the unambiguous statements by the experts of the Directorate of Territorial Surveillance (DST), who present him as an outright agent of the Romanian intelligence service.

Certainly, with that romantic profile that could be from a Delacroix canvas, it is hard to imagine him in this role. Nevertheless, there was that code for deciphering messages that was found on him, the key to which he revealed during 6 days of police custody. That is where the shoe pinches, even though

the investigators, and subsequently the charge order, admitted that in fact not a great deal was known or would ever be known about what he had really delivered.

He is also credited with originally not having any particular vocation for espionage. In his own country, where he was born on 23 June 1949, he was from an early age a brilliant student. A secondary school graduate, with very good recommendations, this mathematician at heart arrived in France at the age of 19 under a Romanian scholarship. As a student at Grenoble, he became, examination by examination, a computer technician without peer, a specialist respected by his colleagues. Initially, he had to return to Romania every year. However, he says that in 1973 he decided to stay permanently in France. The fact remains that he had meetings with individuals revealed to be members of the Bucharest intelligence service and that he was given this cipher code, the only material evidence that he cannot very well dispute.

#### "Octavian"

He was asked whether he was pressured; whether he had not been compelled to agree to what they wanted to obtain renewal of his exit visa for France every year. He admitted this, but immediately added: "The material I am accused of transmitting could have been obtained by them through many other means, and anyway they were publications that were never of a secret nature and of the kind that are exchanged by specialists from country to country."

As a result of obtaining from him the key to the code and letters seized and deciphered, his file revealed that a series of meetings had been arranged for him abroad: in Vienna under the arcade of the opera house, Geneva, Luxembourg, Switzerland and Belgium. He did not show up for all the appointments, but on two occasions he did make the trip, and his alias Octavian had nothing to do with the RosenKavalier.

What was the purpose of these meetings? In the opinion of the chief superintendent of DST, Roger Simon, the code was so sophisticated that without Muntean's key no one would ever have been able to figure out the groups. To which, as a computer specialist accustomed to codes, he replied smiling: "It really wasn't very difficult for me. If a French service regards that as insoluble, then I think it has more work to do."

Thus, his defense is simple: "As far as I am concerned, the Romanians I met were national education officials of my country who only wanted to know how I was progressing in my studies, then in my work. It was on that basis that I agreed to respond to them and because I did not think it involved anything important or serious." He also spoke with emotion about his relatives still in Romania, his "only concern." Was he not vulnerable for this reason? The names of Romanians he was to meet were stated: Stoica, Pop...They were regarded, in the language of intelligence, as his "handling officers." "I learned about the existence of these terms after I was arrested. it was always my impression that they were teachers."

On the other hand, Inspector Simon was basing his conclusion on what a "high-level defector," in his parlance a returned agent, had reported to his service about Muntean's activities. He had said that Muntean was an illegal agent, of the kind that are assigned along with legal agents such as the embassy attaches of Eastern countries and who in case of crisis or war supplement the legal agents to form a kind of fifth column, organize assassinations, and carry out poisonings: "And the Romanian service is particularly aggressive, witness the recent Tanale incident." Also, from this point of view, Muntean's request for French naturalization would have been in response to instruction, in order to better establish himself. Today, he is trying to say that he was forced. In that case, why didn't he say something, for he was called in several times by the DST?

And, on the other hand, there are the researchers and teachers at Grenoble, the people in charge of the laboratories where he worked, who all say that his whole attention was on his research and that the documents to which he could have had access were not of any secret nature.

There is also the matter of the manner in which Muntean's custody at Rue des Saussaies was conducted; he says that he was shoved around and hit. A complaint was even lodged, and it is being investigated.

During this first day, the advocate general, Gabriel Dupin de Beyssat, appeared rather reserved. By contrast, the presiding judge, Andre Giresse, and two of his assessors, Pierre Servat and Charles Franceschi, both counsellors of the Paris Court of Appeal, both demonstrated by the questions they asked their professional curiosity as assize court presiding judges, which they are during their regular functions in departments in the Paris area.

9920  
CSO: 8019/0722-A

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN SENTENCED IN PARIS FOR ESPIONAGE

Paris LE FIGARO in French 12 January 83 p 13

[Article by Philippe du Tanney: "The Price of Naivete"]

[Text] The Paris assize court, which in future espionage cases will be composed of seven judges without any jury, yesterday condemned to 2 years in prison Traian Muntean, 33, the Romanian computer researcher working in Grenoble who had been accused of intelligence cooperation with agents of a foreign power. Though in preventive detention for slightly less than 2 years, he had been given a succession of leaves beginning just after 10 May 1981, when the State Security Court was eliminated. He had been scheduled for trial by that court. He will be free within a few days.

In the prosecution's closing statement, Assistant Public Prosecutor Gilbert Dupin, of Beyssat, clearly defined the charge: "Spying is not Muntean's vocation. He is not an intelligence professional. A spy is not produced in a day. At the outset, what was involved was only routine missions to test the chosen candidate until the time when the trap would close."

This is what the Romanian intelligence services tried to do with Muntean by first leading him on with promise of renewing his visa, then turning it down in order to persuade him to acquire French nationality and pursue a career in a French computer company. Their eventual goal was to obtain important intelligence as the occasion presented itself.

The first scientific documents--about 20, according to the accused--that the brilliant Romanian researcher had supplied to the East before being arrested in 1979 were undoubtedly not of a secret nature; moreover, it does not seem that Muntean, who was interested only in basic research in mathematics and computers, was motivated either by money or ideology. The prosecutor explained: "However, it was under the pressure of some kind of blackmail that the accused agreed to maintain contacts with Romanian security: Muntean had stated as early as 1976: 'I have decided to break off all contact with the Romanian agents.' He thus admitted in his first statements to the DST that he had contacts, at least previously."

Also, the cipher code whose key he gave to the DST could not have been used, according to the prosecutor, merely for unimportant computer or family information, as the accused claimed. Rather, it was an extremely complex code used to arrange meeting places in Geneva, Copenhagen, Luxembourg and London, or the one in Vienna where he went in 1977 to meet his Romanian comrade for barely an hour. "Would this so-called university student have so easily obtained an exit visa, and would he have made the whole trip from Bucharest to Vienna merely to chat for a few moments about current topics, as Muntean claims?"

In the prosecutor's view, there is no doubt that Muntean was manipulated by the Romanian services. His father is still living, and his mother and brother are still in Romania: What good means for pressure on this young university student with promise of a brilliant future? And the prosecutor stated in conclusion: "Even if he did not convey important documents, Muntean is guilty of having maintained intelligence cooperation with the Romanian services. The nation must defend itself against any spying or intelligence operation. Yet the accused is a victim of the lack of freedom and free choice in his country. That is why, though the maximum prescribed punishment is 20 years, I request a sentence of about 5 years' imprisonment."

#### Four Years of Work Lost

Yves Lachaud and Henri Leclerc called for acquittal, asking the court to ignore the accused's first statement to the DST in view of the conditions under which he was interrogated nonstop during the 6 days of custody, deprived of sleep, and even beaten. Henri Leclerc, who had previously so violently opposed the State Security Court and the armed forces courts, did not conceal his uneasiness at having an assize court without jurors. Also, he sometimes addressed the judges in their capacity as magistrates and sometimes as jurors. Research having an international character, was not Muntean instructed by the Grenobles laboratory to regularly send reports of his research during training to Belgium and the United Kingdom, for example? The lawyer interpreted the proof offered by the advocate general in a diametrically opposite way. "You cannot condemn Muntean when he never had any intention to cause harm. Moreover, he did not have access to secrets in France. Romania, which is 15 years behind in the computer field, on the contrary only committed him to make him return after his training in France. They needed his brain in Romania," the lawyer argued.

Prior to deliberation by the court, with Henri Giresse as presiding judge, the accused stammered between sobs: "I have lost 4 years of work; I have so much to do to catch up in the computer world, where everything moves so fast. I ask France to grant me the tranquillity and protection to enable me to continue my research work."

9920  
CSO: 8019/0722-B

PROMOTION OF MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE OFFICERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 118, 30 Dec 82, p 2

[Presidential Decree on the promotion of some generals and the promotion of some colonels and captains first class to the ranks of major general and rear admiral, in the Ministry of National Defense]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Lieutenant General Constantin Emanoil Olteanu is promoted to the rank of colonel general.

Article 2--The following major generals have been promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Maj Gen Constantin Dumitru Antoniu; Maj Gen Constantin Petre Bogdan; Maj Gen Ilie Andruta Ceausescu; Mar Jen Traian Leon Dafinescu; Maj Gen Vasile Constantin Dragomir; Maj Gen Marin Ion Dragu; Maj Gen Nicolae Vasile Eftimescu; Maj Gen Ioan Constantin Geoana; Maj Gen Lucian Ion Ionescu.

Article 3--The following colonels have been promoted to the rank of major general: Col Florea Nicolae Cirneanu; Col Costache Stefan Codrescu; Col Neculai Dumitru Diaconu; Col Gheorghe Gheorghe Gainuse; Col Grigore-Mircea George Iacob; Col Constantin Gheorghe Ionite; Col Neculai Neculai Iordache; Col Marcel-Alexandru Alexandru Marichescu; Col Mircea Neculai Olteanu; Col Horia Marin Opruta; Col Marin Marin Pancea; Col Ion Carstea Petroaica; Col Iosif Iosif Ru; Col Andreiu Matieu Socol.

Article 4--The following captains first class have been promoted to the rank of rear admiral: Captain First Class Gheorghe Dumitru Anghelescu; Captain First Class Ion Gheorghe Boian.

Article 5--The promotions are effective as of 30 December 1982.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 December 1982

No 350

CSO: 2700/113

PROMOTION OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR OFFICERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 118, 30 Dec 82 p 3

[Presidential Decree on the promotion of some generals and the promotion of some colonels to the rank of major general, in the Ministry of the Interior]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The following major generals have been promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Maj Gen Nicolae Andruța Ceaușescu; Maj Gen Istifie Marin Geartu; Maj Gen Constantin Vasile Nuta; Maj Gen Gheorghe Alexandru Vasile.

Article 2--The following colonels have been appointed to the rank of major general: Col Stefan Marin Alexie; Col Gheorghe Nicolae Bucur; Col Gheorghe Nicolae Bucurescu; Col Gheorghe Stan Danescu; Col Constantin-Costel Alexandru Gutu; Col Veliu Iordan Mihalea; Col Mihai Marin Rotaru; Col Traian Gheorghe Taulescu.

Article 3--The promotions are effective as of 30 December 1982.

Nicolae Ceaușescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 28 December 1982

No 351

CSO: 2700/113

RECURRING DILEMMAS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT ARGUED

Dispute Over Foreign Exchange

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1670, 2 Jan 83  
pp 9-10

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "Reverberation of an Old Dilemma"]

[Text] Back on Tuesday, in the early morning hours when this paper was to go to press no one knew how the new foreign exchange law would look, that is, all the provisions it would contain. At that point one could only conjecture.

A few days earlier the Federal Executive Council had announced after one of the numerous meetings held those days (and nights) that it would not back off what it had proposed, but only the day before a meeting of the Croatian Parliament had been held in Zagreb and a meeting of the Slovenian Assembly in Ljubljana. The reports from those meetings, at least for the public, were rather inarticulate, but they did make it evident that the delegations from these two republics in the Yugoslav Assembly had been authorized to reach agreement on the foreign exchange law, "even if it takes a compromise."

Translated into ordinary language, this means that neither in Zagreb nor in Ljubljana are they satisfied with all the provisions proposed by the Federal Executive Council, but they realize how important it is to enact this law.

Denial of Agreement

After all is said and done it seems that agreement has been reached by the delegations of these two republics and the Federal Executive Council concerning the foreign exchange law proposed in the Yugoslav Assembly. This is evident not only from the reports we have mentioned, but also from the drift of the debate conducted in the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. It is true that the delegations of the other four republics and two provinces also objected to certain of the provisions proposed, but the objections, at least it is this reporter's impression, did not concern the basic commitments that arose out of what was agreed on by the Federal Commission for Economic Stabilization. (The basic commitments were set forth in that commission's document which was published on 2 August.)

Later it turned out that it was not enough to achieve agreement in that commission on this important issue, but to reach agreement on a specific document. Another reason why there were so many objections in the Yugoslav Assembly to certain essential provisions of the new foreign exchange law was that in recent days certain members of the Federal Commission for Economic Stabilization had denied that agreement was reached in the commission.

What will be the scope of the new foreign exchange law?

If one is to judge from the progress made so far in reconciliation of views and also from the willingness to agree on what has not yet been agreed on, then it can be said that this law will contain quite a few provisions which will be "neither fish nor fowl," which means that certain provisions will be open to differing interpretations--depending how it suits someone in a specific case. Yet nothing worse can happen to a law than to be differently interpreted in its application.

There are two main reasons which compelled amendment of the foreign exchange law: to eliminate all foreign currencies as means of payment in Yugoslavia and to prevent the payments and exchange positions of the republics and provinces from becoming republic and provincial payments and exchange balances.

Will these changes be taken to the end?

All those with whom we have talked in recent days in the Yugoslav Assembly (members of the federal government and delegates) deny [original reads "do not deny"] that the changes agreed on or those which have yet to be agreed on will manage in all respects to eliminate foreign currencies as a "fetish" from our system. There are still traces of this "fetish" in certain provisions of the new law, probably so that it could still stand as a measure of value on the domestic market. This follows, for example, from those provisions which allow a portion of foreign exchange still to be left "at the disposition" of work organizations. It is not known at present how large that share will be. Work organizations will have to present the remainder of foreign exchange on the foreign exchange market through commercial banks. There are quite a few people who now say that that kind of foreign exchange market will follow the configuration of the republics and provinces, since the banks themselves are still organized by republics and provinces.

It is true, however, that even that that will be adopted "will be a road toward bringing the economy closer together"; the only question is whether a law should be expected to create such a possibility or should by the force of its provision make that unity and community official? And that is the main reason why this law is being enacted.

Realistic Rate of Exchange of the Dinar and Devaluation

It is certain that we would have no need for such a law if the dinar were convertible. Incidentally, in practice we should not honor any sort of foreign exchange system: we have our own currency, the dinar, and that signifies the "dinar system."

And it is another matter that all people do not have the same view of dinar convertibility, nor do they think alike on the means "by which" the convertible dinar is to be achieved. A realistic rate of exchange is, of course, a precondition; the only question is whether the dinar can become convertible exclusively through devaluations--as is usually thought. That is, it has turned out that not a single devaluation to date has contributed to the strength of the dinar; rather they have only softened it by stimulating inflation.

It is well known, however, that the realistic value of a currency depends on the condition of the entire economy which that currency stands behind and above all on the level of labor productivity. Devaluation is resorted to only when it is the only means of "correcting" that realistic value.

In light of the fact that our labor productivity is between one-third and one-fourth that of the advanced countries on whose markets we would like to offer our goods, then there is no devaluation which can in and of itself be a guarantee of the strength of the dinar.

And since up to now it has been mostly our exporters who have had all the power over foreign exchange, they have been earning considerably more by selling foreign currencies on the black market than they would have earned by raising productivity and thereby competitiveness on the world market. That is why foreign exchange becomes the motive for exporting rather than the income that would be earned from selling goods and services on the foreign market.

This goes furthest toward explaining the present squabbles over the new foreign exchange law, since its aim is to prevent the existence of a legal right to foreign exchange income.

We know above all that up to now all producers have not had equal opportunity in realizing foreign exchange. That is, some producers have not been allowed to export because of "higher interests" (producers of food, energy and certain raw materials, for example). But how are those who grow field crops, say, to obtain foreign exchange to meet their needs in such a case? Nowhere else but on the black market. In such a situation it was quite normal to allow domestic petroleum producers to export certain quantities so as to realize foreign exchange and purchase spare parts for operations at wells, since that was the only way of keeping production going. (Every year we produce about 4.1 million tons of petroleum in the country, or one-third of total consumption.) All this happened at a time of the greatest shortages of petroleum products on the domestic market.

#### The Right of the State

Both those demanding essential changes in the foreign exchange law as it has stood up to now and those who defend it appeal to the self-management rights of the working people, that is, to the rights which arise out of the realization of foreign exchange. By virtue of the emphasis put on this right foreign currencies have assumed a position to which they are not entitled if the dinar is the only lawful money in the country.

What is altogether certain and indisputable is that even now those producers who "realized" foreign exchange did not dispose of it, but rather it flowed into the accounts of the republic and provincial communities of interest for foreign economic relations.

In practice it has been possible, for example, for an enterprise to export its entire annual output and yet not be entitled to all the foreign exchange proceeds. Not only because that enterprise is also obligated to bear the costs of the state, but also because its rights to import and its rights to dispose of foreign exchange have been distributed by the republic and provincial communities of interest for foreign economic relations. The republics and provinces, then, as states, have thereby had considerable power which at this point they are not altogether anxious to give up. That power has followed the lines of republic and provincial boundaries and has thereby prevented the unified Yugoslav market from functioning.

Which accounts for the belief that the present debates about the new foreign exchange law are actually reverberations of the discussions of certain unresolved dilemmas which were imposed back in the early seventies. After all, it is by no means an accident, nor is it even surprising, that this question should be put during the discussion of the foreign exchange system: Does the unified market represent statism and a common market self-management? And the other way about.

We should recall that during the year which has just ended certain of the highest officials presented arguments about the possibilities of having a common market of our own. That might indeed be done, but in such a case we must realize that the economy of a common market is altogether different from the economy of a unified market. The economy of a common market presupposes among other things that the republics and provinces would have the right to conduct a separate tariff policy and a separate export and import policy.

#### Excesses of 'Veto Power'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1671, 9 Jan 83  
pp 9-10

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Agreement by Consensus or 'Veto'"]

[Text] Last year Veljko Kovacevic, fighter of wars, general and writer, received Yugoslavia's highest recognition, the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Prize for his writings. The statement by the jury said "for revolutionary journalism." Just in advance of the New Year the warrior-general-writer was asked about his wishes for the occasion on a television program (TV Belgrade, "Friday at 2200," Thursday, 30 December, at 2000 hours). There were many things he wanted. Among other things--abolishing the veto which under the United Nations Charter is guaranteed to the "great powers" which are permanent members of the Security Council. And also that that notorious veto be thrown out of the mechanism in effect in Yugoslavia for making decisions at the federal level and elsewhere!

Only time will tell to what extent his wishes will be fulfilled.

As for the United Nations, it is a fact that a large number of countries, non-aligned countries above all, are advocating a partial revision of the charter which would among other things include reassessment of the present privileged position of the "great powers." Actually this institution was to some extent in dispute from the very outset: over the more than three decades of the world organization's existence there have been innumerable supporters of demands to amend it and of initiatives, unsuccessful, of course, to take that privilege away from the "great powers." The chances of achieving revision of the charter are, of course, only theoretical at present, since all the great powers would also have to vote in favor, i.e., vote against their own privileges. Accordingly, the veto guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, here Kovacevic is absolutely right, beyond any doubt, becomes in the Security Council the means of negating not only the charter, but indeed all those fundamental principles on which it is based.

#### No Consensus--No Decision

As for Kovacevic's other desire--to abolish the veto in the Yugoslav political system--matters stand a bit differently. First of all, because there is no veto in the Yugoslav political system; the Yugoslav federal units, the republics and provinces, do not under the constitution have the kind of explicit veto guaranteed the Great Powers in the Security Council of the United Nations. Though, to be sure, an altogether different belief does prevail in the popular conception of the layman, not without reason. The Yugoslav Constitution has established the institutional political arrangement, and within that framework a mechanism for making decisions in the Federation calling for equal participation of representatives of all republics and appropriately delegated representatives of the two provinces which are part of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia. In only one of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, does the constitution specifically prescribe a procedure whereby decisions are made on the principle of consensus of the republics and provinces, that is, of their delegations, which have to obtain "authority" for their vote from the assembly of the republic or province which delegated them. When there is no consensus on what is being decided in that chamber, there is no decision. This does not in formal terms signify a veto in the sense in which that term is defined by textbooks in the disciplines of public law or by existing law encyclopedias, but, to tell the truth, it is not anything which differs essentially from that concept either.

This summer when in connection with the 12th LCY Congress there was discussion of the need for analysis and indeed partial revision of certain elements of the present economic and political system, the attention of the public was concentrated most of all on the mechanism whereby representatives of the republics and provinces conclude compacts and accords at the federal level. Najdan Pasic, member of the LCY Central Committee and distinguished political scientist, noted in his written proposal for drawing up a kind of "inventory" in the political system that a study should first be made as to where the limits established by the constitution for application of consensus in decisionmaking have been exceeded. "One gets the impression that what for understandable reasons

was adopted as a method of decisionmaking on certain important and precisely enumerated issues in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly has been spontaneously extended to almost all domains of political and self-management decisionmaking in the assembly system and in associated labor. Regardless of the constitutional arrangements we have come close to a situation in which virtually every acknowledged entity has a veto in the decisionmaking process and can actually block the taking of a decision even when a decision is indispensable from the standpoint of common interest and the broad public interest," Pasic notes.

In other words, what was established as an exception, as a precisely prescribed procedure applied only when the rights of the republics and the provinces or the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities were involved, is threatening to become its opposite. By blocking the entire decisionmaking mechanism and thereby the entire system, it is causing harm to all, ultimately indeed to every federal unit separately, all the nationalities and ethnic minorities, every member of the community be it local, at the middle level or at the top level....

#### Consensus and the Consequences

At the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee, just a few days before the end of the year, much was said on this topic. Most of it, to be sure, was indirect, but some of it was direct indeed.

On that occasion Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, informed the Central Committee about the talks which members of the working group of the highest party forum had been conducting with party members holding top positions in the National Bank of Yugoslavia. That portion of his presentation deserves to be quoted in its entirety.

"The entire area of decisionmaking and indeed of responsibility in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and the Council of Governors in particular, needs to be put in a far better position in both normative and operative terms so that the constitutional and legal functions of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the national banks of the republics and autonomous provinces can be performed effectively and well. The governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia is accountable to the SFRY Assembly, while the governors of the national banks of the republics and provinces, who are members of the Council of Governors, are accountable to the assemblies of the republics and the autonomous provinces. In and of itself this ought not to be a problem. But since the members of the Council of Governors are put in a position of actually representing the interests of the republics and provinces, which occasionally differ, and since they can persist in them, it becomes difficult to reach agreement on conduct of joint credit-monetary and foreign exchange policy. The principle of discussion and agreement, then, ought not to interfere with consensus in reaching decisions.

"Our working group has stated that a determination should be made as to which amendments of legislation are necessary to set up more appropriately the role and activity of the Council of Governors and to further promote relations

between the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, as well as other bodies, agencies and organizations in the Federation," Vidic observed.

At the time when this meeting of the LCY Central Committee was being held, proceedings were still under way in the bodies of the Assembly to reconcile the views of representatives of the republics and provinces on the most important planning documents for 1983 as well as those concerning certain so-called system laws ("the foreign exchange law" and the like). One member of the Central Committee, who is at the same time an official in the SFRY Assembly, warned that if agreement was not reached in good time in the Assembly on what was on the agenda there could be a serious political crisis! In principle he was probably right: if agreement was not reached.... But agreement was reached, immediately following the meeting of the Central Committee, and, as we see, there was no question of the crisis which was mentioned.

The question, then, is whether agreement can be reached on the functioning of the political system as it was conceived, on eliminating from current practice those things which compromise its important institutions, those things which often block and frustrate effective adoption and implementation of decisions? The crisis has been averted for the present, there is no reason to doubt that on every similar occasion in the future good sense and a sense of responsibility will again prevail over what contradicts them. The question, however, is whether it would not be more intelligent to eliminate in advance all those things which in and of themselves complicate life and cause crises.

Thus it is not impossible that at least some of Veljko Kovacevic's New Year's wishes will come true: only time will tell which and to what extent!

#### 'Eight Statisms'

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[Article by Ljubisa Ristovic: "New Distribution of Statism"]

[Text] It is indisputable that Yugoslavia is being shaken by a profound economic crisis. Incidentally, that crisis is the essential determinant of the contemporary world, if that is any consolation.

A dose of courage seems to be needed to look the truth in the face and to replace the pragmatism of day-to-day politics with objective analysis of reality. The crisis, that is, is multidimensional and not one-dimensional (economic), its roots are deep, and political and social archeology would have to go back at least 10 years or so. To say that we should not go back to the past, but should only learn by making mistakes, is to say that in the name of some higher interest we should not discover its true causes. The history of the Yugoslav communist movement is full of examples where crises have not been resolved by halfway measures, by passing over the causes in silence, by adopting compromises with antisocialist forces, but rather by bold incisions and brave decisions. Yet establishing causes is a precondition for conceiving a program well

thought out in both theory and practice that would orient the principal social and political forces of the system of socialist self-management toward those goals which have been designated as the higher phase of socioeconomic development for quite a long time now.

Any thorough analysis of the recent past and current troubles would ultimately show that the crisis is another name for a historic conflict between statism, personified by the bureaucratic-statist strata at various levels of the social hierarchy, in the economy and outside it, and authentic self-management, which for all of 30 years now has been painfully making its way on our soil as a tendency and as a world-historical phenomenon.

The two basic cells, the two legs by which the entire edifice of the system of self-management is supported (Milentije Popovic), the two basic constitutional categories are these: the basic organization of associated labor and the commune (along with the local community). If we leave the archeology of the commune for some other occasion, observing that statism has managed to stifle its plebeian democracy, the authentic institutions of direct decisionmaking and the self-management of the citizenry, an anatomy of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] will reveal certain essential causes of the crisis in which we find ourselves.

Born in the early seventies at a time when many vital functions were being transferred from the Federation to the republics and provinces, it was conceived not only as a counterbalance to the possible revival of technocracy, but by developing latent internal values it was supposed to be a driving force behind a historical leap from the lower to the higher phase of self-management, which has been defined by the constitution as mastery of the entirety of social reproduction by associated labor.

#### Radical Changes

The birth of the basic cell of self-management coincided with fierce political-ideological confrontations in the League of Communists and in society, and there followed radical changes in the function of the Federation. It was essentially a question of accumulated contradictions between self-management, which was seeking broader new space, and statism, which was also striving to broaden its power and influence. The drama of that period is best illustrated by assessments taken from the Letter of the LCY President and Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium dated 29 September 1972. "The present stage of the revolution has decisive importance for the directions of development and the destiny of socialism in Yugoslavia. The essence of the question is this: Will the working class take command of the entirety of social reproduction and perform the decisive role in political and social decisionmaking, or will those forces and relations which are opposed to the interests of the working class, socialism and self-management become stronger." This assessment might also be broadened to cover the entire period between the 9th and 10th LCY Congresses (1969-1974), since by the depth of the crisis and the fierceness of the conflict between statism and self-management and the aggressiveness of nationalism it was among the most dramatic periods of recent history.

With the birth of the basic organization of associated labor in 1971 self-management was given a new chance, it being taken for granted that its institutions, science and the subjective factors would be tested in their ability and responsibility in seeking solutions that would develop its genetic characteristics. But that was also the period when functions were being transferred from the Federation to the republics and provinces under the ideological aegis of narrowing federal centralism.

Analyses which show that this was a legitimate process justified solely on the basis of degovernmentalization of the centralistic functions of the Federation, but not as a new distribution of statism among eight statisms in the republics and provinces (the commune had already been displaced to the third rank). The concept was well conceived in terms of political ideology. Evolution of self-management at the "micro" level, from the basic organization of associated labor, was supposed to be accompanied by degovernmentalization of the state at the "macro" level, which as time went on would result in a strengthening of self-management as the basic global social relation and a pressing back of statism to that measure brought about by historical needs and circumstances.

Statism took pains to turn the conception to its own use, to stifle authentic self-management in the basic cell of associated labor, and to plant itself in all that space reserved under the constitution for associated labor. The consequences are well known.

Criticism of the republic and provincial statisms as the principal progenitors of the present crisis does not mean criticism of the basic principles on which our federal community is based. We are criticizing statism as a social relation opposed to self-management, to ethnic and economic equality, and to the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, a relation which on behalf of selfish interests has degraded the system's fundamental values. If certain bureaucratic and technocratic structures take exception to this kind of criticism, let them set their own behavior and positions against the political-ideological commitments of the League of Communists, the constitutional categories and the programmatic commitments on the one hand, and the real state of socioeconomic and political relations on the other.

The economic crisis has fully confirmed statism's inability to manage expanded reproduction. Hundreds of billions of lost national income represented by projects being offered in bankruptcy proceedings, mistakes in investment policy at essential points of the strategy of development and industrialization are the highest price which the working class must pay to confirm what the League of Communists noted long ago: that no government apparatus and no bureaucracy are able to build socialism and the new social relations as successfully as the working class itself.

#### Neglected Responsibility

Responsibility for these mistakes has been reduced to a category of doctrine, it has become lost in decentralized statism, which is, if you like, a unique phenomenon in the contemporary world. To illustrate, today there are many Yugoslav cities in the dark, industrial enterprises are standing idle because

they do not have fuel and power, the public is dissatisfied because of restrictions on electric power, yet no one has been identified as the person to blame for the darkness. Only in global outlines can it be said that the bureaucracy, with the zealous aid of a part of the technostucture in spite of indications that the electric power industry is that sector of the modern productive forces in which all the essential advantages of the system of socialist self-management can be realized on the scale of Yugoslavia as a whole--shattered the unified Yugoslav electric power system, and even today it offers no guarantees whatsoever that the crisis will not recur in a few years.

Without entering into the many questions which are of an urgent nature, it does seem that greater attention is being paid to one basic determinant of the basic organization of associated labor. There are indications of a flood of integrational processes, creation of industrywide and vertical systems and associations of great complexity which in Yugoslavia at large, that means independently of regional borders at the lower level, would take over many economic functions from the government.

The basic organization of associated labor as it is set up today is not equipped to be the first link in higher forms and structures of self-management integration, and its constitutional features have been dwarfed. It was formed as a closed cell burdened with legal formalism, it became entangled in internal conflicts over distribution and external conflicts with other organizations of associated labor concerning income. Without any social justification whatsoever a new social force was created consisting of about 50,000 directors of basic organizations, along with the corresponding technostucture which has considerable economic and social power, and it has become a perpetual topic that the relation between self-management and its professional management structure is more aggravated than before. Work organizations and complex organizations consisting of basic organizations are confronted with large problems, among which the most acute are the jurisdictional conflict between professional management entities and exhaustion of all structures in the division of income, which is having a serious impact on productivity and economical use of the resources of society.

To open up a new process of integration, a new flood of higher forms and shapes of associations in the economy, at a time when our fundamental cell of associated labor is still the very image of the old conventional enterprise, would be to burden the new economic organisms with a heavy inheritance. That is why the first prerequisite is a thorough analysis of the process of bringing the economy into conformity with the principles of the organization of associated labor so as to explain whether the theoretical conception is all that it should be.

The creation of large integrational entities (industrywide and vertical) could be a forced move and could signify initiation of a process which would lead step by step toward essential changes in the socioeconomic and political system. It is indubitable that corresponding technostuctures, professional management entities and numerous staff services will be formed at the higher levels of such associations, since that is the logic of commodity production. The weakest aspect of the existing large systems and complex organizations of associated labor is the stunted self-management at the lower and higher levels of

decisionmaking. To initiate a process and to forget that these organisms represent one of the functions of self-management in our context would have the consequences of aggravating internal conflicts. In 2 or 3 years we would be witnesses to acute conflicts between the technostuctures on the one hand and the self-managing base on the other. In that case there would either be a new technobureaucratic alliance against self-management or the bureaucracy would emerge as the arbiter and "protector" of self-management, and the kind of campaign we had 10 years ago would be carried out against directors.

It seems, then, that we need a thorough study that would follow this undertaking. Especially if the point is for associated labor through its higher forms of integration and association to take over even other functions which are today a monopoly of the administration.

The third essential prerequisite is that the subjective forces, the League of Communists above all, make a self-critical examination of their own behavior in associated labor. It is not in the tradition of our communist movement to pass over its own errors in silence, so that it is incomprehensible why the forums and bodies of the LCY have been silent about the serious shortcomings which have resulted in displacement of self-management and the enormous strengthening of statism. In the conflict of the two powerful tendencies of internal development, authentic self-management derived from the basic organization of associated labor and statism at various levels, the League of Communists should have been the leader and ideological force of self-management. With its roots in the OOUR, it was called upon to resist group-ownership and technocratic pressure in the social base, to exert strong pressure from below for development of the basic values of self-management and [to oppose] bureaucratic state-ownership usurpation of the surplus value of labor and displacement of self-management from the political and broader socioeconomic system on a regional basis. It has not performed either function successfully. Burdened with opportunism and inconsistencies, it has been concerned with other subjects, and it has not been fighting its real battle at the right place.

The manner of organization and above all the content of the activity of the League of Communists in associated labor are basic conditions for those processes to take a different course. Proceeding from basic organizational principles, there was nothing wrong with party members being organized on the principle of one primary organization of the LCY in every OOUR. But its organizations should not have been allowed to become an ordinary appendage of the technostucture instead of being the ideological leader in the struggle to realize the fundamental values of the basic cell of self-management. In particular, party members should not have been allowed to remain unconnected, shut up in their narrow party organizations, unable to detect the problems arising at the higher levels of organization, in the face of the well-organized and connected technostuctures in the more complex forms of associated labor. That is why it seems to us that initiating a process of integration can have results only if its ideological leader is the League of Communists, and that from the OOUR to the higher forms.

We truly find ourselves at a historic crossroads. Academic criticism of unidentified people holding back progress is to the liking of statism, and

changes will be accepted which will not essentially alter the social and political map of Yugoslavia. Self-management can win the battle if authentic forces enter the battle on the broadest front, developing the authentic values contained in its basic cells with the help of science and with the support of the subjective forces.

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